THE DIARIES OF THREE SURGEONS OF PATNA 1763.

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PREFACE.

Nearly fifty years ago, Mr. Talboys Wheeler called attention to the existence of these Diaries, and in 1878 he gave a few very meagre extracts from them in his *Early Records of British India*. Last year, guided by Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *Report*, the old papers were searched out for me by the kind officials of the Imperial Record Department, and the Government of India most graciously accorded me permission to copy and publish them. It was only after the printing had been done, that I discovered that Mr. H. Beveridge had published Anderson's Diary in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1884, and Campbell's Diary and Fullarton's Relation in a subsequent number. But if, in view of this fact, the present publication loses the charm of novelty, I cannot but think it will be extremely useful. For, in the first place, back numbers of the *Calcutta Review* are not very easily procured, and, in the second, when I compared my printed text with that of Mr. Beveridge, I found that the document I was working at was a far better copy of the original than the one which Mr. Beveridge found among the Hastings' papers at the British Museum. Although the parallel columns I have made use of are not beautiful—and they have necessitated the use of small type,—it will be an advantage to the student to have the events of each day clearly before his eyes. Fullarton gives us a "Narration" not a "Diary": but I have thought it best to break up his paragraphs and to space them according to date.

Mr. Beveridge in his reproduction of the Diaries did not follow the writers' spelling of place and personal names; but, with all deference to so eminent a scholar, I have not followed Mr. Beveridge's example in this respect.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Shillong, Assam, *July 23rd, 1909.*

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INTRODUCTION.

"Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night" So Lord Macaulay wrote of the tragedy of the Black Hole, and as the average Englishman, at home, if not in India itself derives his impression of Indian History from Macaulay's Essays, the event of 1756 will never be rivaled in public interest If, however, it had fallen to Macaulay to describe the massacres at Patna in 1763, there can be no doubt that he would have told a tale which in terror and atrocity would have exceeded even that of the sufferings of Holwell and his companions For while it may be contended Suraj-ud-daula was in a secondary sense only responsible for the hanging which led to the Black Hole disaster, no such escape is possible for the perpetrator of the massacre of 1763 In a letter to Warren Hastings, dated August 29, 1776, Mir Kasim Khan, in pleading for pardon and permission "to return to his home and hearth with a view to proceeding finally on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines," gave his own version of the circumstances leading to the massacres of Patna, and attempted to lay the burden on the shoulders of the late Mir Jafar, whom, he contended, had intrigued with Sumroo for the murder of the English in order that he (Mir Kasim) might be so ruined in the consideration of the English, that all future opportunities of a reconciliation between the Company and himself might be cut off [1] With this plea we need only contrast the words which Mir Kasim wrote to Major Adams, on the 9th of September 1763, (after the murder of Amyatt) "Know of a certain that I will cut off the heads of Mr Ellis and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you [2]" The unfortunate victims were not all slain on the same day, and this circumstance in itself proves the deliberation with which these murders of helpless prisoners were accomplished That the crime was carried out by a European renegade is a circumstance which adds to the horror of the story

1 PATNA TO A D 1757.

Even in India there are but few places so rich in historical memories as Patna Beneath the soil, watered by the blood of Mir Kasim's victims lie the ruins of the ancient Buddhist capital Pataliputra the greatness of which had been foretold by the Buddha a few months before his death From the Greek Megasthenes in the 4th century B C and the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien in the 5th we hear of the wonders of Patna's palaces After long years of obscurity, ruin, and desolation the great Mahommedan Conqueror Sher Shah (1541) took in the possibilities of that site protected by the waters of the Ganges and the Sone and built there a fortress In 1586 Ralph Fitch visited Patna, and he has left us a description of that "very large and great towne" In 1757 Patna and an adjoining fortress at Hajipur, were defended by Dost Khan, the head of the Afghan party against the Moghul army and in 1574 Akbar himself came to capture the city, the downfall of which completed the conquest of Bengal [illegible] the great days in which Patna was [illegible] political life in Bengal, [illegible] Shah [illegible] Aurangzeb [illegible] and gave to the city its [illegible] [illegible] Mr [illegible] [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

but this ambition was cut short by the fratricidal war which broke out on the death of Aurangzeb in the course of which he met his death (1707) by being swallowed up alive in a quicksand.[3] In 1670 the English at Surat pushed on their enterprise from Agra to Patna, where the Portuguese however had been first in the field but these early adventurers lacked permanency and it is not till about 1687 that we find anything like an established trade between the English at Hughli and the place they called Pattana or Pittnaw or Patenna. Tavernier who with Bernier visited the city in 1666 writes the Holland Company have a house there by reason of their trade in saltpetre which they refine at a great town called Champar (Chapra) Coming to Patna, we meet the Hollanders in the street returning from Champar who stopped our coach to salute us We did not part till we had emptied two bottles of Shiraz wine in the open street, which is not take notice of in that country where people meet with an entire freedom without any ceremony " About 1659 Job Charnock in the near future the founder of Calcutta, came to Patna, and in a residence of about twenty years, built up the saltpetre trade with such success, that the Company were able to discontinue their purchases on the West Coast and at Masulipatam From the time, however of Charnock's removal, the trade languished under the constant oppression of the native authorities, and in 1715 the factory was abandoned, until it was re-established in 1718

In the year 1701 the Emperor appointed as Diwan of Bengal one Mahomed Kadi, who, in origin, the son of a poor brahmin of the Deccan, had risen from the humble station of an assistant in the revenue department of the Diwan of the Berrars to be Diwan of Hyderabad Mahomed Kadi, now become Murshid Kuli Khan was not long in incurring the wrath of the Viceroy Azim us-shan and in consequence departed from Dacca for Mukhsudabad which now in his honour bore his name—Murshidabad. It was to the m d established by Murshid Kuli Khan that Ali Verdi Khan, Suraj ud-daula, Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim in turn succeeded In 1719 the subah of Bihar was transferred to the Nawabs of Bengal, and, as the administrative Court of the Emperors had now become a thing of the past, it was in future with the Rulers of Murshidabad that the English factors had to deal

The times were wild ones wars and rumours of wars incessant alarms of Mahrattas and Afghan inroads seldom absent the reality seldom falling short of the hideousness of the reports In 1741 the great Nawab Ali Verdi Khan, who a three years before had defeated and dethroned the Nawab Sarfaraz Khan (Murshid Kuli Khan's grandson), rebuilt the fortifications of Patna, making the city a place of refuge for all who sought shelter from the pitiless Mahrattas. Five years after this, Mustafa Khan, the Afghan general, revolted, and laid siege to Patna. A very great number therefore of pioneers and labourers was sent for from all parts of the province an entrenchment was soon thrown up that encompassed all the ground between the tower of Jafar Khan's garden and the dyke a wall raised for the security of the suburbs against the waters of a neighbouring lake A deep ditch was added to the entrenchment and the earth dug from it served to form very good rampart without needing any mortar or brick work " Mustafa Khan's attempt failed, and the leader falling into the hands of his conquerors, his quartered body was hung in triumph on the four gates of Patna city

In 1746 Pratap Dhanna, the Mahratta Chief in alliance with the turbulent Afghans, fled before the arms of Ali Verdi Khan, leaving behind him "a country totally ruined" But the great Nawab was to find by bitter experience that a man's worst foes are they of his own household His son-in-law and nephew at Patna in 1748 entered into an alliance with the Pathan Afghan

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3. Bengal District Gazetteers Patna 1907 p. 21.
4. Bengal Past and Present Vol. I Art. "The Founder of Calcutta" The earliest English factory was set in the year 1651 at Hugli.
5. Motamlar The Manual of Murshidabad p. 11

of Darbhanga, but Zain-ud-din was doomed to perish at the hands of his faithless allies His wife Amina Begum, Ali Vardi Khan's daughter, was "for seventeen days forced to listen to the cries of her father-in-law, tortured by every horrible device known to Oriental cruelty, to reveal the place where his treasure lay hid Then for well nigh a year she spent anxious days a prisoner in the enemy's camp, waiting for the approach of her father's army that hurried along the way Rescued at last, she returned with Ali Vardi Khan to Murshidabad, and there for seven years set all her hopes upon her son Suraj-ud-daulah, scheming to secure for him the kingdom on her father's death" The pictures drawn of Patna in that awful year 1748 recall to remembrance that terrible description of our own mother land in the days of King Stephen, when men said openly "that Christ and his saints slept" "The insurgents" sacked the city and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonored women and children, and desolated a whole world" so writes the author of the *Riyaza-u-Salatin* At Kali Sarai, near where stands the present railway station at Fatwa, Ali Vardi Khan crushed the revolt effectually, but only to find that his grandson, whom he had petted and spoiled, had risen in revolt, and made a futile attempt to seize Patna

Previous to Suraj-ud-dawlah's march on Calcutta, the English had abandoned their factory at Patna, and the French had established themselves there in full strength For the story of Monsr Law's retreat from Murshidabad to Patna, the reader must be referred to Mr S C Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal* In July 1757 Mr Pearkes re-opened the English Factory at Patna It may be said that after the event of Plassey, Patna is once again the pivot round which the history of the times revolves

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2 MILITARY EVENTS, 1757—1761

At the time of the defeat and assassination of Suraj-ud-daula the Governor of Patna was a Hindu officer, Ramnarain by name, who owing his power and advancement to Ali Vardi Khan, was by the strongest ties of gratitude committed to the cause of the ill-fated Nawab Suraj-ud-daula Ramnarain who was, as Mr Hill says "no lover of Mir Jafar, and was not yet acquainted with Clive," allowed Law, the fugitive French Chief of Cossimbazar, to pass Patna and escape into the province of Oudh Forcing his way with the greatest difficulty, Coote, who had taken charge of the expedition, which Clive himself had at first intended to command, followed without success on the track of the fugitive French The story of Coote's transactions is an exceedingly interesting one but we cannot pause to trace it even in the barest outline in this place Law made good his escape and Coote, who at one time had thought of capturing the citadel of Patna by force of arms from Ramnarain, in the end came to an understanding—the latter swearing fealty to Mir Jafar, on the express promise of an English guarantee for his honour, safety, and position It was no doubt the consideration of this solemn recognition which made Coote so resolute, and Carnac also in opposing Vansittart's policy in regard to Ramnarain In February 1758, Clive and his army marched through Patna, and encamped at "the Company's gardens" at Bankipur It would require more space than can be here afforded to detail the intrigues and counter-intrigues In the end, the Nawab appointed his son Mir Miran to the Government of Patna —"a mere honorary appointment which gave him a claim to certain presents or fees," and Ramnarain (who however paid a nazar of 7 lakhs) was installed as Naib, or the actual Governor of the Province Clive next devoted his attention to secure for the Company the farm of the revenues on the all important saltpetre commerce He then set to work to raise a third battalion of sepoys—a corps, afterwards commanded by Captain Turner, the defeat of which in 1763 is a part of the present story On May the 27th Clive left Patna, and (at Bar) received from the Nawab further assurances on behalf of the safety of Ramnarain

In 1 60 fresh troubles came in view At the invitation of some rebellious zemindars and military officers, the Mogul Prince Ali Gohar made his appearance on the scene On his way southward, he was reached by news of the death of his father and he at once assumed the title of Emperor and the name of Shah Alam Clive who left Bengal for England on the 23th February 1 60 in the previous December had despatched Major Carnac with a small army to meet the rebels But Shah Alam reached Patna before Carnac did, on February 9th, Ramnarain marched out of Patna to meet the enemy The story of the battle in "the plain of Musseempore" has been well told by Broome I tr t the story of the retreat that concerns us because it introduces to us in the most favourable light the man who was to be one of the very few survivors from Mir Kasim's clutches in 1 63—Surgeon William Fullarton The English forces whose orders confined them to the protection of Ramnarain were but some 00 or 200 men. Ram Narain, who had lightly declined to remain with the English finding the battle against him appealed to Captain Cochrane the English Commander to send him support, and Cochrane at once marched with four companies of sepoys to the Rajah's support Let Broome continue the story —

"This unwise division of the English force caused its destruction the party under Captain Cochrane forced their way to the Rajah and covered his retreat but being attached on all sides they were overwhelmed by numbers, and the only three officers present, Captain Cochrane Ensign Wonlebeck and Mr Barwell, who served as a volunteer were slain the sepahis now left without a leader were discouraged, and though Rajah Cobry was using a deeper to rally them charged upon them and the whole party were cut to pieces—1 sergeant and 2 sepoys alone succeeding in fighting their way back to the European detachment. These last supported by the other Companies Rajah had also been so cruelly assailed, but continued to hold their ground the officer left in charge of the infantry as also the halt in command of the Artillery who appears to have been Lieutenant Buck were both killed the only European officer surviving was Dr W Fullarton, the Surgeon of the Agency who assumed the command Finding that the day was completely lost the little party commenced the retreat to the city unmolested by the enemy but by the cool and steady conduct keeping the latter at a respectful distance One of the gun carriages having broken down, they were compelled to spike it and leave it on the field, but the fumbrel of the other having upset, Dr Fullarton hitched the party dill rately spiked it and then resumed his march by the cool and daring behaviour this remnant of the party succeeded in making good their retreat to Patna." (Page 4)

After the battle of Sereji re which took place Mir Mir Jafar procrastination and jealousy of Col. Carnac, might have prevented decisive action against Shah Alam the latter retreated in the direction of Mirzapur and Mir Jafar and Carnac followed following a junction with the Nawab at Mongheer on April 4th 1 60 It would be tedious to follow the incidents of this difficult campaign On April the 10th the Emperor set back to Patna, and Fergusson with Law Behar hastily after proceeded to attack the city In the course of the siege Fullarton once again distinguished himself by his bravery Although deep rot dense the Patna garrison was on the point of desperation when to-day the 5th of April the surgeon and a few hundred light, the guard the walls fell in a English reinforcement proceeding "The Major and consulted Captain Knox little party who, in the succeeding Lt place 13 had marched from Patna, and to 00 men, under the gallant Hogg exceeded the Ganges twice and performed great deeds of valour and prudence."

The story of the siege is well and so succinctly [illegible] with the [illegible] success of the attack [illegible] Khan retreated to the latter retreat [illegible] to retreat [illegible] the Imperial Army [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Fullarton, who w

marching with a powerful army, to join the Emperor Assisted by the gallant Shitab Roy, Knox with a mere handful of men achieved wonders Near to Bheerpore he fell in with the enemy, who after a hard fight, despite their overwhelming numbers, were put to flight, leaving 400 dead on the field, and 13 elephants and 8 pieces of canon in Knox's hand, 16 Europeans only were killed, and a proportionate number of sepoys On 22nd June, Caillaud and Mir Miran arrived, and Knox and his men, who had followed in pursuit of the foe, returned to garrison Patna

The pursuit of Kuddum Hussain was prosecuted by Caillaud, and might have met with success but for the tragedy which occurred on the night of July 2nd, when, in a violent storm, the "young Nawab," Mir Miran, was killed by lightning After seizing the town of Bettiah, Caillaud and his forces returned to Patna Of this officer little more is to be said Had he remained in Bengal history might perhaps have taken a somewhat different course, for he was no friend to Mir Jafar, and he was one of those who received a considerable bounty from Mir Kasim in connection with the revolution of 1760 He handed over the command at Patna to Captain Knox on August 31st, and reached Calcutta on September 10th 1760 On October 20th Caillaud was at Murshedabad superintending the *coup d'etat*, and, after all had been accomplished, he returned to Patna, accompanied by one who has a large part to play in these pages—Major John Carnac [f]

We shall not attempt to follow Carnac in his victorious struggle with the Emperor Shah Alam and his French and other allies, for we must now proceed with the more purely political events which led up to the tragedy which the *Diaries of the Three Surgeons* describe Thoroughly defeated by Carnac, the Emperor on February 6th, 1761 came into the English camp, to seek the best terms that could be obtained In the old letters given here it is Shah Alam who must be understood by such expressions as "His Majesty," "the King," etc

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3 THE PARTY FORMED AGAINST GOVERNOR VANSITTART

In February 1760, after Forde's decisive victory over the Dutch at Bidderra Clive felt himself free to leave Bengal for England, and for the time the chair of Government was occupied by Holwell, the hero of the Black Hole, but apparently only as a temporary arrangement. After Holwell's departure, Peter Amyatt, the then chief at Patna, who in seniority would have succeeded to the chair, was passed over in favour of Henry Vansittart, who arrived in Calcutta from Madras in July On October 27th took place, quietly and without any loss of life, the revolution which placed Mir Kasim Khan on the *musnud*, to which Clive had raised Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey

The supersession of Bengal servants by a stranger from Madras had been bitterly resented The natural leader of the disaffected party was, of course, Amyatt, but he seems to have been a person of an amiable disposition, and, according to Vansittart it was one Fullarton, who prompted a peaceful man to the conflict On the 8th January 1761, Amyatt caused a minute to be entered on the proceedings of the Select Committee, in which in the strongest terms—"breach of faith" "odium," "assisted to dethrone a man we were bound to support by the most solemn ties of honour and humanity" etc—he expressed, on behalf of himself and Messrs Ellis and Smith, an opinion

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[f] "Major Carnac, Major Brooke, Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, Lieutenant-Colonel Clive, Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis received intelligence of his appointment to the command of the Bengal Troops with the rank of Major in the room of Major Carnac who was at the same time promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and decided to return to the coast as senior officer of the Madras Army [illegible] January Major Carnac immediately returned to Bengal where he arrived in [illegible] he [illegible] directed that the coast Cavalry should [illegible] the general [illegible] a [illegible] his services and experience were required in the settlement of the [illegible] Calcutta he left Patna finally in December 31st 1777

disapprobation of the late revolution? In replying to this minute the Governor dealt out hard measures to Ellis

> "That Mr Smyth should subscribe to this opinion is not to be wondered at because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr Verelst's, in consultation of the 8th November without having read any of the proceedings but that Mr Ellis should subscribe to it, after signifying his approbation of the measures in many letters which have been written on the subject and particularly in one from the Select Committee to the Governor and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 7th of November is somewhat surprising and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has long been suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service nor having any regard for the Company are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them by which unjustifiably they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves and this authority they exert to the utmost to the purpose of making divisions in the settlement and more particularly in the Council. It is only such persons as those that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of allegiance, honour and divine reproach which nothing can merit, but a premeditated intention to do some great ill."

To this Ellis replied, on January 11th, 1811 His previous utterances were but "complimentary congratulation but "his sentiments with regard to the revolution have never been kept a secret The reflection that he be ing influenced in his opinion by others though not of so good a turn of mind as himself is a compliment to his morals, at the expense of his capacity which being merely personal, and quite foreign to the subject in hand, might well have been spared and in answer thereto, he only wishes, for the good of this settlement, others in power were little influenced in the management of public affairs, by the opinion of those about them."

Vansittart in his *Narrative* suggests that the original cause of Ellis's disaffection was due to the fact that, on his return from England, Ellis had claimed the chief place at Fort William, to which Mr McCarra had been promoted from Patna before—a claim Vansittart considered "unreasonable Major Carnac had been violently offended at my express desire that Colonel Caillaud who had been present at all the debates of the Secret Committee and had been particularly charged with the execution of their resolutions, should remain in command at Patna till their views were fulfilled." (Vol. 1 p. 160).

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4 THE OPPOSITION OF COL FARE COOTE AND MAJOR CARNAC TO THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNOR

The rule of Mir Kasim Khan, at its start, was full of bright promises, and in fact he was able to give more so large a sum for the support of the forces, that the Government at Calcutta were able to remit two and half lakhs to Madras which sum arrived at that place "very opportunely for carrying on the army before Pondicherry In the meantime Carnac's successes against the

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† Vansittart *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal* (1766) Vol. 1 p. 104 *et seq* or *Original Papers* Vol. 1, pp [illegible] The minute goes on to assert that the occasion of the procession of Midnapore [illegible] Chatterjee [illegible] to be an entirely imaginary occasion. The real grounds for occasion [illegible] Kasim are given by Ellis's minute in the *Annexure of the British Power in the East* and it is interesting to compare them with those given Amyatt and [illegible].

‡ He had written on October 8th 1760 to the Governor It is with much pleasure I hear of tranquility in the city and revolution with so little disturbance as it seems to have happened, and I dare say it will be nothing more than a very short, to place that Nawab, on his [illegible] and I believe." Verelst refers to this letter in his *Narrative* Vol. 1 p. [illegible] It is based on the fact that the Council had not been consulted. It is also [illegible] "absolutely required secrecy and that is greatly [illegible] of such [illegible] that the [illegible] Select Committee" Verelst [illegible] shortly after [illegible] the arrangement of Chittagong

Shahzada, and Captain White's against the rebellious Raja of Beerbhum had in some measure brought peace to the troubled country But a new cause of distraction was almost at once found in the person of Ramnaram, who, as we have seen, had been intrusted with the Governorship of Patna by the deposed Nawab, and who, being on unfriendly terms with the new Nawab, looked to the English for protection Caillaud, having been ordered to Pondichery, the Military Command at Patna fell on Carnac, and however much he may have been influenced by the pique Vansittart ascribes to him, it is clear that the Major was prepared to resent any deviation from what he took regarded as policy of his great military chief, Lord Clive Caillaud had been instructed by the Select Committee to extend his protection to Ramnaram in case of the Nabab's making any attempt against the person or honour of the latter On February 9th, 1761 the Select Committee informed Carnac

"We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be well inclined towards Ramnaram," but they at the same time confirmed their resolution "to have the same regard to the former engagements in his favour" "As to Rajebullub," they continued, "we can have no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or such person as he shall appoint, that a just statement being made of all the monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due enquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid the balance that has been found due may then be discharged, and Rajebullub be employed again, as the Nabob thinks proper This the Nabob declares is all that he asks, and in this (as it is just and reasonable) you will yield to him all the necessary assistance"

To these instructions the Major replied, on February 24th, in a letter which Vansittart in his *Narrative* characterises in severe terms—"unbecoming and arrogant," "vanity and intemperance," "prejudices which he had entertained against the Nabob" The letter is as follows

"You may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the assistance in my power, to settle everything in the province in the best manner, I will also very readily lend my assistance in adjusting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullub, as far as he means to act fairly by them, but should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken The English forces, which I have the honour of commanding, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression

"Your directions, in regard to Ramnaram, shall be religiously observed I could not have received any order from you with more pleasure than this of protecting a person, for whom I know Colonel Clive had a peculiar regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shown them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob"

Early in March, the Nabob and the Major met at Belmutpore. It is impossible to read Mir Kasim's correspondence without being struck by his very considerable skill as a letter-writer, and his ability in putting forth an *ex parte* statement of his own case in which nearly everything, but the essential points, receives more than adequate justice If Mir Kasim were to be judged on the merits of his letters only, we should at least have a speaking regard for him. It will be well to place the Nabob's and the Major's account of what took place at Belmutpore in parallel columns it will be seen that the former suppresses the fact that he had asked the withdrawal of Ramnaram and Rajebullub from the province of the [illegible] Bihar

Carnac's Letter —March 6 1761

The Nabab continues encamped at Bykuntpore, about six or seven cos off where I have waited upon him whatever good qualities he may be of courage is not one of them he betrays a most shameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy Prince is reduced so low as to be much more an object of pity than of fear Not thinking himself sufficiently secure with the large force he brought up with him he sent for without acquainting me both Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Camgar Cawn's country with a detachment from our army under the command of Captain Champion I no sooner heard of this but recalled Captain Champion likewise which has given the Nabab great offence so great, that he asked me in the publick Durbar whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the President. I answered that I would, as far as I was well persuaded that Mr Vansittart expected from me who did not mean that I was to pay an implicit obedience I further told him that the direction of the English forces was left with me and that it was not reasonable any part of them should remain in country with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people I have however at his own request, ordered Captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Behar but shall call them in entirely unless he sends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them; the neglect whereof will infallibly bring Camgar Cawn out of his hills again.

The Nawab's Letter received March 13 1761

On the 26th of Rejab, I arrived at Bykuntpore where I had the pleasure of meeting Major Carnac Maharajah Ramnarin, and Maharajah Rajebullub. Among other things the Major told me that he had sent for the troops which were at Gamty in the zemindarree of Camgar Cawn. I replied that to chastize Camgar Cawn was no difficult matter but that it was not proper to recall the troops, belonging to the Company and myself in so much haste from the place where they were stationed This he did not consent to do but replied that he would certainly send for the English troops I delivered your letter to him When he perused it he said that Mr Vansittart is two hundred cos from hence; and that I he would do whatever he thought adeisable I was persuaded that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine that he would have given me such an answer The Nabab next asked me whether I looked upon him as Subahdar of the provinces, and was willing to assist him as such In answer to which I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could, confident with honour and justice that further I would not do for him or any man. The very question gives me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make if so it should this be the case he will undergo the mortification of a denial. I parted from the Nabab yesterday evening We were both you will judge pretty much dissatisfied with each other he with me for speaking my mind so freely to him a thing very unprecedented in this country; and I with him for the delays and obstructions he has lately to cause to our military operations.

Vansittart, in his *Narrative* (1 66) talks of "the slight which the Major put upon the Nabab at this interview" and in a letter of the Select Committee (Vansittart, Amyatt Ellis and Skinner) while declaring any lack of harmony between the Major and the Nabab, censures the latter's conduct in sending for Ramnarain and Rajebullub as a very imprudent step and much to be blamed." While accepting the decision of the army and the determination on all

military matters should rest with our commanding officer," the Committee laid it down that "in everything respecting the regulation of the country and the collection of the revenues," the Major subject to more urgent considerations (*e g*, the safety of the troops), should be guided by the Nawab "We think," they added, "this distinction is sufficiently clear, and flatter ourselves that no disputes can hereafter arise"[9] In this expectation they were destined to be sadly and completely disappointed

A few weeks after at this interview at Bykuntpore, Colonel Coote arrived at Calcutta, and on April 22nd he set out to assume the command of the army at Patna His instructions from the Select Committee, dated the day previous, read as follows

"We are advised by Major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabab and Ramnaram, relative to the accounts of the Patna province We hope this may be amicably and reasonably adjusted, and request that you will give your assistance towards it as much as possible As Ramnaram has been remarkably steady in his allegiance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of his protection with respect to his person, fortune, and government, we recommend you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice, and further that the Government of Patna be preserved for him, if it is his inclination to continue in it It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done by representing to the Nabab the obligations we are under to Ramnaram, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible means"

On May the 8th, Carnac, in consequence of Coote's arrival, wrote to the Select Committee expressing a desire to be allowed to return to Calcutta with a view to proceeding to England, but on Coote's arrival at Calcutta, the Major finding the views of his superior officer were coincident with his own, postponed his intended departure I must pass as rapidly as possible over the events which occurred between Coote's arrival at Patna, and the recall of Coote and Carnac It is somewhat important, however, to notice that McGuire, the Company's Chief at Patna, plays a very minor part on every occasion of importance, but that his sympathies were on the whole cast on the side of the Nawab Passing over many materials of lesser importance, we come to a letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated June 16th 1761

Since the arrival of Colonel Coote, agreeably to your directions, esteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendship, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto After his arrival here, he spoke to me in the following manner concerning the King's affairs, "that as long as he should remain here, I should consent to allow him a lack of rupees monthly for his expenses, and that when he should go to Delhi, I should consent to dismiss him with twelve lacks of rupees and a few troops" These articles, for the Colonel's satisfaction, I was under a necessity of consenting to, and I went to his Majesty, and told him I would be answerable for these conditions, but he would not consent to it Afterwards the Colonel directed me to pay, besides what I before gave him, fifty thousand rupees Agreeable, therefore, to the Colonel's desire I gave him the said sum by the means of Maharajah Ramnaram, besides what I paid before His Majesty made no stay here, but determined to proceed to Delhi, and is now on his march that way When his Majesty was departing I, by the Colonel's consent, gave the elephants of the Sunnads, but he was not satisfied and [illegible] I was under the necessity of [illegible] in his pleasure and deferred [illegible] again Roy Shitab Chand appeared [illegible]

[9] Orme's Papers Vol I, 41

court, always endeavours to throw things into confusion. I frequently desired the Colonel to dismiss him as an incendiary and appoint another in his place, but he would not listen to it. Ever since the Colonel came here to this time I have regarded what he said and directed as of the greatest consequence, making it a principal point to establish a friendship between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendship, I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person. In every respect, I have done everything to please and satisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him; notwithstanding which behaviour he has not consented to a single thing I have requested of him. Agreeable to what you wrote to me concerning Maharajah Ramnarain's affairs, I spoke to the Colonel, and, at his recommendation, appointed Maharajah Rajballah to examine the accounts. Golam Aly Cawn and the said Maharajah went backwards and forwards to the Kella for fifteen or sixteen days together; but Ramnarain neither gave them a single paper nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came and said to me "We Europeans do not understand the country accounts; I will send the Maharajah "Ramnarain to you, he shall not be dismissed, but you may examine the accounts yourself." This I would not consent to; nevertheless, the next day he sent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mr Watts. Since that day to the present moment, he (Ramnarain) protracts the time in going backwards and forwards, and giving the time for preparing his papers, but he has not produced a single cowry; nor delivered over a paper's worth of the country; though I have complained, no one would listen to me, nor give me redress. Ever since my arrival here, the English sepoys have been stationed at the gates of the city, and would not permit my people to pass and repass. Mr McGaire being somewhat indisposed, I went to see him at the factory; and from thence I went to the Colonel, and sat down and conversed with him. He declared that on Tuesday the 1[illegible]th of Zeeqada, I would go to the Kella, and on Friday the 15th, cause the Cootba to be read, and sicca to be struck in the name of his Majesty. This I agreed to do and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard that I was going into the Kella, they represented that they should have a frequent occasion to come to me, in order to lay their requests and petitions before me; and that till the sepoys, etc. were taken off, they could not pass and repass without interruption; that when Meer Mahomed Jaffar Ali Cawn, and Nasir-col-Mooolk deceased, resided in the Killa, the sepoy guards were not upon the gates; and that until they were taken off they should not be able to pass; considering therefore that the sepoys were men of low and position frequently opposing men of credit in passing and presenting their pieces to them, and that many of my people were proud and haughty so that disputes may arise and disturbances be created, I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requesting he would take off the sepoys from the gates, and then I would go into the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter which contained no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry and flew into such passion that he said he would send for the King again, and told Golam Aly Cawn, who was then present, that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might send troops to drive them off. Since the day the Colonel arrived here he has declared to me that I must comply with everything that he shall recommend; and accordingly he has sometimes told me in person, and by messages brought by Mr Watts[1]

[1] Mark Watts—a son of Warren Hastings, he had carried on the secret negotiations with Mir Jafar before Plassey. His mother was the famous Charetta Ely afterwards known as the "Begum Johnson."

and Sheik Cumaul, that "I must appoint Nundcoomar to the Fonjedaree[11] of Hooghly, give the government of Poornea to the son of Aly Cooley Cawn, restore Maruffer Aly (who plundered Masir ol-Mooik's jewels to the amount of eight lakhs of rupees) to the Zemindaree of Carrackpoor, restore Caingur Cawn to the Zemindaree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarrees of Radshay and Dinagepore, according to his pleasure[12]

Though I desired the Colonel to appoint a muttaredee[13] to examine the accounts of my eight months' government, and let me free he would not listen to it All my hopes of reliance are on your friendship and attachments to your engagements This is the only consolation I have under my present afflictions, it is the dependence that I have upon your word that keeps me alive, without this, it would be impossible to survive them. My hopes were, from the revenues of this province to pay my debt to the Company and reduce the number of my forces, but nothing is yet done, I apprehend the sepoys will assemble, as in Meer Jafar Aly Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring shame and dishonour upon my family In the eight months of my government, I have scarce had leisure to drink a little water I have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep The four months that I have been here, involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the least happiness, except in the confidence I have in your friendship My shame and dishonour are completed, and I have no one to complain to but you, I hope you will speedily write me in what manner I can extricate myself from these difficulties, and establish my credit and reputation Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me, God is my witness, and Mr McGuire is acquainted with every circumstance I am sorry that you, who are my patron and the partaker of my afflictions, should at this time be at such a distance, and that so much time should be taken up in writing and receiving letters The rains are come on, and the sepoys' wages daily increase The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confusion, and everything contributes to make my life a burthen to me, my hopes are in your favour, for God's sake make no delay, if you do, my affairs

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11 Fonjedari [Phaudari] The office of the native chief Magistrate of a large district called a Chuckla.

12 To these charges, Coote replied (July 17th 1761): "The Nawab further accuses me of having endeavoured to oblige him to make up matters with Comgar Cawn and the Carrackpoor Rajah I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them, as I that I particularly refused to see their Vackeels, and never had any correspondence with them, but by two letters which I wrote them by the Nawab's desire, copies of which have been transmitted to the President With regard to the Dinagepore people I was petitioned by the sons of the late Rajah (whose country I had been taken from them by the Nawab after taking a nuzzur of ten lacks of rupees) requesting that I would speak with the Nawab in their behalf and deliver their petition to him which was all the part I acted in that affair With respect to the Rajah of Radshay Mr Batson desired I would endeavour to serve him with the Nawab as he had been deceived by the Rovroyan, and his country taken from him I accordingly represented his situation that poor unhappy man (though seventy years of age) has been thrown by the heels, and [illegible] almost to death It is a shocking piece of cruelty for being the [illegible] in that situation till Mr Batson, through his humanity with difficulty by his interest got him freed from his shackles; but the poor old man still continues a prisoner As to Pierre Kelly Aly, I never recommended him to the Nawab nor has any thing done by authority from me The only person whose interest I spoke was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffier with whom I was formerly [illegible] to Patna at Laprimaul, starving with a large family I begged the Nawab to [illegible] of 100 rupees per month chiefly through the interest of his brother who by my recommendation [illegible] rupee As there was a report spread that the Fonjedarship of Hooghly was to be [illegible] in a private discourse with Rajah Nundcomar that if the Nawab would give the [illegible] years of age a gentleman, whose [illegible] from a friendly view towards the Nabob [illegible] that the old man, worn out with sufferings from the rattan to deserve what [illegible] demand to the Nawab [illegible] the Dewan Aly Jafier Aly Cawn who managed the [illegible] the lowest of the general people [illegible] sepoys [illegible]

13 Muttaredee Nawabiyat defters or Property accounts [illegible] any man, who has charge of accounts, or [illegible] the G[illegible], or any person of [illegible]

are utterly ruined. Now this remains, that you, who are concerned in my welfare come here yourself or send for me to relate my sorrows to you

[*In the Nawab's own hand*]

All affairs here are at an end and the ruinous situation of my affairs at this place has rendered my case desperate I have wrote to you every particular I hope from your benevolence that you will consider every syllable and speedily redress my complaints.[1]

This letter exaggerated as are its terms, and inaccurate as its statements of fact at least serves to show that the Nawab was under the gloomiest apprehension as to his situation

Although the Mogul Empire had long since ceased to be a power yet its continued existence was now and for many years to come the rung posted on a wall from which the whole chain of jurisdiction in India depended. Mir Jafar had received the Mogul's sunnud, but Mir Kasim was still without that credential then deemed so essential to the constitutional exercise of rule Bitterly the Nawab complained that the Colonel stood in his way and prevented his obtaining the desired "sunnud for the subahdaree

Things were ripe for a crisis It has been seen that the Colonel had requested the Nawab to come into the Fort, and raise the Cootha to be read, and the sicca struck in the name of His Majesty In a letter dated June 15th, the Nawab informed Coote that he had fully resolved to comply with the requisition, but that, as his Risaldars and Jemadars "resented the continuance of low caste sepoys (Telingas) at the gates, they refused to accompany him, and that he himself therefore was unable to enter the Fort The letter in itself and the manner in which it was sent caused some surprise to the Colonel, and the more so when it was discovered that the Nawab had been in consultation with his officers, and that the guard on the Nawab's camp had been doubled. On the night of the 16th when Colonel Coote made an entertainment for the Dutch and was making merry and his "guard were stationed all around the Kalla, came an alarm—originating so Mir Kasim asserted, and McGuire believed from Ramoo—that the Nawab intended to attack the city It will be well to place Coote's and Mir Kasim's account of what took place in parallel columns.

COOTE

On the 10th of June in the evening having had different reports brought me concerning the Nabob's proceedings, I told Captain Lister I intended paying him a visit next morning in order to settle matters with him and at supper time desired that gentleman to order the troopers and my usual attendants to be ready Little after daylight About seven o'clock next morning I set out from my quarters to the Nabob's (which is about two cos) with about twenty four Troopers of Cavalry and some Company of sepoys, which happened, at that time to be fewer number than usually attended me when I went upon public duty and I sent Mir Watts on before to let the Nabob know I was coming on to wait on him By the time I arrived at his tents it

MIR KASIM

About 12 at night, Maharajah Ramnur in collected his people together and sent word to the Colonel that I had got my troops in readiness to attack the kalla in the morning and that I would spare neither of them The Colonel, being deceived by the snare got his people ready My Hircarra brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it This morning Mir Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zenana, calling out Where is the Nawab? and the tent. After him Colonel Coote in a great passion with his Gentlemen, peons, sepoys and others, with cocked pistol in each hand, came running into my tent It so happened that I was asleep in the *Zenana*, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unbecom-

[1] *Forrest's Selections Vol. 1. p. [illegible] et seq.*

was near seven o'clock The Nabob, I find, accuses me of going in a violent manner, through his tents, on the contrary, the place where I alighted from my horse was near the Durbar tent, and the place where I had always alighted, and upon seeing Mr Watts, I asked him where the Nawab was? who replied he was asleep in his zenana, and, as I had reason to suspect from my intelligence, the last 24 hours, that his intentions were not the best, I therefore alighted, took my pistols out of my holsters, for my own security (as I seldom ride with a sword), but declare they were not cocked; and I affirm that I went no further than the Durbar tent, where I sat down for a little time, still finding the Nabob did not come, I desired Captain Liser to order two troopers to see that no body of troops came in at the back part of the tent, and I now declare that no one was placed on his Zenana As the Nawab did not come, I went away

ing manner in which the Colonel went about from tent to tent, with 35 horsemen and 200 sepoys, calling out "Where is the Nawab" He left some of his people at the Zenana and Dewans conna, and went towards the fourth tent The eunuch of the serai and Mr Watts prevented his entering, saying the Nabob is asleep, and this is the private tent of the Zenana The Colonel returned, and proceeded through my whole army, and seeing every one without arms or any preparations, went back to the kella This base man [i e Ramnarain] is ungrateful, treacherous, and only intent on mischief, and to suppose such a wicked man, has not any fear of God, and has even forgotten himself, is to give cause for mutual animosities . . . . . .

Commenting on the Nawab's letter, and, not having as yet heard the Colonel's version of the facts, McGuire wrote to Vansittart "I foresaw in some degree the bad consequences of giving such ample powers to your Commander-in Chief Few men can brook the losing any part of the authority wherewith they are vested, and fewer still, who can support that authority with moderation If you cannot come yourself, as I find the gentleman at Madras will not send the regiment, have you not the power to re-call him, and confine the Major to military operations only?" The Council at Calcutta, however, on reading the Nawab's and McGuire's letter, determined that Colonel Coote and Major Carnac[17] should be ordered down to Calcutta, leaving at Patna four Companies of infantry and two battalions of sepoys, under the command of Captain Carstairs, and that the officer should act entirely under the orders of the Chief of the Factory[18]

5 ELLIS BECOMES CHIEF AT PATNA

Section VII of Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal* is taken up by an attempt to display, from Carnac's own letters the latter's "arrogance and self-opinion, and tendency to subvert all the order of Government and to keep up the spirit of party" The Major, we are told, was too much encouraged in these insults on the authority of the Board by some of the members thereof

17 Major Carnac at the time of these later events was attending Shah Alam on his march to Delhi The King as the Mogul was called in the English records, was seeking to make himself the Diwan of the three provinces Vansittart was much pleased by the news that the King had accepted the Diwanship from the Council but the Council only wished to gain time which Vansittart attributed to the Nawab's desire to detach him from his authority

18 The authorities in Calcutta seized on the report of the Nawab's intended flight as the Council Coote and Carnac left for the Council at Calcutta [illegible] the Council [illegible] the Nawab's [illegible] the Nawab's [illegible] entering and leaving the city [illegible] Nawab's [illegible] Council [illegible]

who not only vindicated all his opinions, but afforded him an argument to disrespect their orders, by signing their dissent to the orders themselves, instead of minuting them on the consultations. It is clear however that Carnac was much, if not mainly influenced by the suspicion that the Governor was about, in disregard of repeated pledges, to withdraw English protection from Ramnarain.

In September 1761 letters arrived from the Court, requiring Messrs. Sumner, McGuire, and Playdell to be dismissed, and soon after this Smith tendered his resignation and sailed for Europe. Their places were taken by John Cartier, Warren Hastings, Johnstone and Hay, and Ellis became Chief at Patna, where he arrived about the middle of November. The instructions given to the new Chief at Patna were sharply debated by the Board. Although Ramnarain is not mentioned in them, it was pointed out that "the impropriety of protecting a servant against his masters was calculated to cause "nothing but jealousy and ill-will between the Nabob and the Company" and it would be expressly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob. The Agent was not to interfere directly or indirectly in any of the affairs of the country government or with the people belonging to it, but to place his armed forces at the Nawab's service whenever requested. Some of the Board very rightly censured this arrangement by which the Chief was deprived of any sight of discretion in regard to the nature of the services on which English troops might be employed. Hastings, while on the whole supporting the Governor, was of opinion that although the Chief should have no power of discretion yet he should be able to make a representation to the Council, should he think the service required of our troops to be hostile to the English character." Carnac thought that Ellis should be allowed power to decide. Amyett thought the proposed arrangement dishonourable to our masters, an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented case till the chairmanship of Mr. McGuire, and in this view Coote concurred.

With Ellis arrived at Patna, disputes with the country authorities become so many that it would be hopeless to attempt a recount of them here. Among the most earliest and conspicuous instances of these disputes are the arrest of an officer of the Government named Mocaram on a complaint from a Gomastah of the English factory, the seizure of an Armenian Coja Aratoon, for interference in the Company's saltpetre monopoly, the search of Monghyr Fort for the persons of two deserters. It will, however be more useful to leave these details of the quarrel on one side, and proceed at once to discuss the question out of which an infinite number of troubles were bound to arise.

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6. THE PRIVATE TRADE OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

In a letter dated January 24th, 1766, Clive and his Council made a remark which, ably and amply sums up the whole moral of the history of the period we are discussing. "We" they wrote, "now come to your instructions relative to the inland trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal."[17] The inland trade referred to here is defined by Vansittart that "as trade carried on by private persons, on their own credit and bottom, in commodities produced in the country and again sold in the same country. ...The private trade consists of goods not fit for exportation, but which are again sold in the country, and consists of articles which are funds appropriated, and paid into the exchequer of the country (*i.e.*, the native) Government."[18]

With this inland trade the East India Company (a collective body of foreign merchants incorporated) had no direct concern.[19] The Company with infinite pains and expense had, by the grants

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17. Verelst, *View of the Rise and Progress of the British Government in Bengal*. Appendix p. 61.
18. Vansittart, *Original Papers*, Vol. I. p. XXVII.
19. Such as the firman obtained by Hamilton 1716 and the free parwanas obtained by Surman. Some new trade privileges had been acquired from Mir Jafar by Clive and Watson.

procured from the Mogul freedom from duties (except at the Port of Surat,) for all goods exported by and belonging to the *collective* body but the Company had never sought to obtain privileges for the *private* trade of their servants For the goods which were to pass duty-free under the privilege bestowed by the Mogul Government, it was customary for the Governor, or the chiefs of the several factories to grant *dustucks* or passports, but the grant of a dustuck to cover goods acquired by the Company's servants, not as *agents* of the Company, but as private merchants on their own account, would—or rather should—have been regarded as fraudulent For as Vansittart very truly observes "It never could be intended by the Mogul King that *private foreign* merchants should be upon a better footing than private native merchants If any set of foreign merchants could deal in all goods produced in the country, and sold in any part of the same country, free from all duties (while at the same time all duties were paid by the natives) the foreigners must, in consequence, keep the whole trade to themselves, and also the Government of the country must lose the whole of the duties"

Simple and obvious as this distinction between the export trade of the Company and the private and inland trade of its individual servants is in itself, it was not one that the Company's servants cared either to draw or to remember when drawn for their edification There was in the land an only too numerous class of English merchants devoid of scruple, as Hastings in April 1762 wrote

> "The oppression committed under the sanction of the English name, and through want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them this evil, I am well assured is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our servants calling themselves our Gomastahs I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed, and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions), I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of the nation, but evidently tend to lessen each of them You are sensible, Sir, that it is from such little irregularities too trivial perhaps for public complaint, and continually repeated, that the country people are led to entertain the most unfavourable notions of our government, and by them the English credit suffers much more, than by matters which are made of great consequence in the quarrels between the Nabob and us"

It would be no difficult task to point an hundred truthful colours and pictures of Bengal in the circumstances but we will be content with producing Vansittart's curt but forcible advice

> Private factors (gomastahs) set themselves up for judges of cases particularly in their own interests are entered [illegible] their masters [illegible] considerable state in the country government [illegible] their order—they forcibly take [illegible] from external payment, [illegible] of the native [illegible] but often [illegible] their gomastahs [illegible]

SUMMARY

Vansittart had commenced his rule by offending the majority of those who were to act with him in Council, that was possible for Carnac in clear a letter almost contrary to ours in its terms with this passage "Yet in this I am not singular as I was lately believe If the whole Board could be assembled (...) the half if not the majority) would be found to concur with me in sentiment The deposition of Mir Jafar to which Holwell's execrable policy had led the way had been a shock to the moral feeling of not few of the Council and especially to the officers of the Army and to the latter the suspicion that Vansittart would betray Ramaram as he did betray him into the hands of Mir Kasim was an even greater trouble As we read to-day the pages of Vansittart's books we cannot help feeling that he to the end felt himself committed to an "impossible loyalty" in hoping against hope in the honesty and capacity of his creature—Mir Kasim The story of the inland trade lurks in the heart of the whole matter For it is clear that if the privileges which had been secured for the Company export trade were to be held to cover the private and inland trade of the Company's servants, the result must have been not only the ruin of native merchants, trading on their own behalf but of the native Government, which, on these terms, would sacrifice its revenue In 1762 the prescient mind of Hastings had appreciated the fact that behind the trading difficulty lay a profound political problem Nothing I fear he wrote to Vansittart, "will reach the root of these evils till some certain boundary be placed between the Nabob's authority and our privileges When in 1763 Vansittart published his *Original Proposal* writing of the inland trade he said "unless it be quite abolished, or wisely regulated, it must be the source of continual disputes It can never be settled, unless the bounds of the Company's jurisdiction and the country government's authority be fixed and then he stated a dilemma,

1 If the Company could set up a title to, and could actually take possession of the whole *province of Bengal, they could not garrison and protect it. If they do not take possession of the whole province and the government cannot have the fruits of its own duties and revenues there will be perpetual sources of disputes.*

2 Nor can any Moguls or Nawabs, or the subjects of either be contented with the residence of such guests and the whole continent for their own interests, will be ready to join against them

The working out of this problem as legal not legally stated was facilitated by the violence of Mir Kasim

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8 THE MISSION OF WARREN HASTINGS TO MIR KASIM

In view of the dispute between the Chief of Patna and the Nawab it was thought well that a person, in whom the Nawab had great confidence should accompany reassure him that the confidence placed in him by the Government was in no way affected. For this purpose no more suitable person could be found than Warren Hastings who as a former factor at Cossimbazar and Resident at the Moorshedabad was familiar with the ways of the Central Mahomedans. The terms of the envoy's instructions were as follows

Mr Vansittart to Mr Hastings

"Whereas for some time past, a misunderstanding in the Nabob's conduct which we are strangers to nothing but the false reports and representations of malicious persons, and having desirous of convincing him, that we wish for nothing more than preserving the present tranquillity of the country to avoid all disputes, and to confirm to the terms of the treaty subsisting between him and the Company we think proper to depute you, in whom the Nabob has great confidence to make him sensible of our sincerity.

At the same time, we should be extremely glad to discover who have been the secret authors of this growing jealousy We imagine, there may be some, as well as amongst the persons living under our protection, as about the Nabob's person You may assure the Nabob that we shall severely punish those who belong to us whenever we can fix the guilt, and you will strenuously recommend to him to do the same on his part

The sooner you can set out on this commission the better that the bad effects, which the want of confidence between us and the Nabob might occasion in the country may be prevented "

In these instructions there may perhaps be a threat on the Governor's part addressed to the opposition, but if threat there was, it was met by the opposition with a cruel piece of irony I do not think that any writer has, before this, regarded the motion which Mr Amyatt moved on "the next Council day but one" in its true character as a very cruel jest at the Governor's expence Solemnly Amyatt arose in his place and moved

"Mr Amyatt recollects the President having mentioned that 20 lakhs of rupees were promised by Cossim Aly Cawn to the Board, but that he would not consent to this money being received till the debt to the Company was paid As that is now satisfied, Mr. Amyatt is of opinion, it should be made a part of Mr Hastings' instructions to endeavour to recover the promised 20 lakhs and when recovered that instead of being distributed amongst the members of the Council, which could not fail of raising a suspicion that our assents to the Resolution were bought the money should be placed to the credit of the Company" The persons who rose to receive this refreshment were Vansittart, Holwell, Cailland, Sumner and McGuire [21]

Solemnly Mr Hay contended that the bond for twenty lakhs, having been returned by the Governor, without an order from the Board, had been returned without proper authority, and its payment must, therefore, be insisted upon and Johnstone gave a similar opinion, adding however, that "the Company might have expected their agents to have accepted and transferred it to their account" Carnac put forward the paradox that only by insisting upon the payment could the Board justify itself, "for, however, innocent the gentlemen of the Board may be they would probably imagine that they have all received some pecuniary consideration, in return for having appointed Cassim Allee Cawn to the Subahdaree, whereas from this demand being made the contrary will appear upon record" [22]

The President's reply was dignified and the facts he revealed do great honour to his memory Not only he, but Holwell Sumner, and McGuire, had declined to receive Mir Kassim's offer of 20 lakhs On the death of his son, the Governor had received a bill for Rs 25,000 from the Nabob, and this had been paid into the Company's treasury Up to February 8th, 1762, the Nabob had paid [illegible] lakhs of sicca rupees to the Company in the Ceded Provinces [illegible] rupees [illegible] With what [illegible] could more be asked? The President [illegible] which had been charged [illegible] the Governor [illegible] Amyatt's [illegible] proposal [illegible] proceeded [illegible] the Company [illegible] the claim, [illegible] Nabob [illegible] Allee [illegible] to the Council [illegible] the Company [illegible] [23]

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21 [illegible]
22 [illegible]
23 [illegible]

The majority however decided that the demand should be made and instructions to that effect were added to Hastings papers On April the 9th, he set out, and arrived at Patna on May 2nd, where he had hoped to meet Ellis but that gentleman had betaken himself to his country house at Singia, about 15 miles from the city and was careful to remain there during the five days Hastings remained at Patna. Hastings then pushed on to meet the Nawab at Sasaram. The Nawab warmly repudiated any unfriendliness, or jealousy of the English on his part, and if any person in his following could be pointed out as guilty of fomenting disaffection, I would make an example of him "It grieves me that without cause or enquiry you Gentlemen suffer such suspicions to take place in your hearts and declare them to me your friend. Who it is belonging to yourselves that is continually speaking evil of me propagating calumnies against me and representing me to you as your enemy is not unknown to you The acts of violence committed by Mr Ellis before my face the insults on my people and the disturbances raised in the country; my authority rendered contemptible to all Indostan; and obstructions thrown in the way of every business of the Government in the province of Behar"

The intractible character of Mr Ellis seemed for the moment the one difficulty in the way of perfect understanding with Mir Kasim—a difficulty made insurmountable by the fact that as Hastings put it, "the most glaring misconduct in him (Ellis) would meet with support from a majority in the Board." In the end Hastings mission could produce nothing better than good advice to two absolutely irreconcilable foes.

3 VANSITTART'S ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE INLAND TRADE

It was the mission of Warren Hastings which brought into prominence the serious problem of the inland trade While at Sasaram, Hastings explained to the Nawab the strict regulations which the Governor wished to be adopted with a view to bring to an end the abuse of the English flag on country boats to ta. We are here concerned not with these regulations but with their consequences The nature of the private inland trade has already been defined but it has yet to be pointed out that while the private traders failed to see that the privileges secured for the Company's export trade could not cover their own private adventures without placing the native merchants at an enormous disadvantage the Nawab on the other hand was ready to crush the inland trade of the European merchant out of all existence Vansittart and Hastings were prepared to admit, and did claim, that the Imperial firmands gave no privileges of duty free to private trade and that therefore the European merchants were bound to pay as did the native the customary duties; but the position maintained by the Nawab was that his predecessors had in times past restrained the European merchants from carrying on inland trade upon any footing whatsoever The right to buy and sell country products within the country he claimed, was entirely in his own hands, and he had watched with an jealous and disgust the new markets under English guarantee which were springing into existence even in the most remote parts of his province. The Governor's contention is succinctly stated in a letter addressed to the Council from Monghyr by himself and Warren Hastings December 1 th 1 6*

> As on the one hand we do not see any reason why the English gentlemen and other inhabitants of Calcutta, and the subordinate factories should carry on the inland trade with the Company's dustucks or in any other respect more advantageously than the country merchants so, on the other hand, we think it would be a great hardship if we and all belonging to us were not admitted upon an equality with the merchants

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71. *Ibid.* p. 67
72. *Ibid.* p. 68

and inhabitants of other parts of Bengal, and suffered to trade on equal terms, in all commodities, and in all places, provided our agents and gomastahs do not set themselves up for magistrates in the country, and carry on their business by force and oppression.

If then, on the one hand the English merchants were inclined to abuse the Company's privileges by covering their own private merchandise by a *dustuck* only lawfully applicable to sea-borne trade, the Nawab on the other evinced a strong inclination to impede their inland trade on any footing whatsoever. In these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the restrictions on the passage of boats on the river to which Hastings gave assent, on behalf of the Governor on May 18th, 1762, must have given a handle to the always lawless and insolent officers of Mir Kasim, who could make these otherwise laudable measures a pretext for interfering with the inland trade, howsoever lawfully and peacefully conducted.

To return to the course of events, through which we must travel with greater speed, now that the essence of the existing troubles has been explained. In June, 1762, Hastings returned to Calcutta. For two months the Governor was laid up by a dangerous illness, and Amyatt presided in his room. "The first I heard of business after my recovery," he writes, "was that a war was breaking out with the Nawab, complaints crowded in upon me from all parts, the officers of the Government declaring that their authority was trampled upon by the English gomastahs, so that they could no longer preserve the least order, in the management of the business committed to their charge, nor collect the revenues of the Government, and that the usual duties which had been paid by the English merchants on salt and some other articles of trade were now withheld and refused; and, on the other side, the gentlemen of the subordinate factories and the English gomastahs asserting that they had paid the usual duties, notwithstanding which many of their boats were stopped.[2]"

Anxious both to obtain a change of air, and to see what could be effected by his immediate presence, Vansittart determined to pay the Nabob a visit at Monghyr, and accordingly, with Hastings as his assistant, he set out on October the 20th. He reached Murshidabad on the 3rd, and stayed there doing business till the 12th; on the 30th he arrived at Monghyr, "where the Nabob received me with all the usual marks of respect. Hardly a day past, but I went with Mr Hastings to visit the Nabob, or he came to us. His constant topic was the ill-treatment he had received from Mr Ellis, the injustice done him by me, the Council, in not resenting such proceedings. As I knew it was out of my power to give him any satisfaction in that point, I answered that all these disputes were long passed, and that now he and I were met together, such regulations should be made, as would be satisfactory to both parties, and prevent disputes in future. He was always warm upon this argument, and I found that he and Mr Ellis could never be friends; however, I hoped, that the occasions of dispute might be removed, and their rancour be buried within their own breasts."

Poor optimistic Vansittart! Within a year from this date Mir Kasim was to be the murderer of Ellis and Amyatt and a crowd of unarmed unoffensive English prisoners. It has been said that the character of a Government may be judged by the nature of the opposition it provokes. When three years after the occurrence of the Patna massacre Vansittart published his Narrative, he was clearly of opinion that his experience with Mir Kasim had been the same; but it is not clear that he ever made any effort at all to understand the opposition which his support of the merciless Nabob provoked.

Vansittart tells us that the Nawab next complained of the [illegible] in the inland trade, as well [illegible] and the [illegible] authority trampled [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

employed in carrying it on in the d t nt parts of the country He urged that we had no right to this trade from our firmaun, that it occasioned incredible dam e and d order to his overnment, and this for the ad antage only of part cular and in short ins ted that we should ro t nue it no longer but confi our pr vate trade in the same manner it was before the overnment of Meer Jafar Althou h I was of the same opinion with the Nabob, as to the hts of the firmaun that the could not be construed to extend further than the trade in rt les imported by al pping and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation, yet I as willing to give p an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company s serv ts in greater or less degree for fi e or six years and therefore told the Nabob that as to the inland ad or the trade from place to place in the country we meant only to carry it on upon the me footing w th other merchants th t we had al w ys paid more or less d ties to the government on t trade but as the rates were not fixed and regul ted, many disputes arose on that account at we could i form ourselves of the rat of d ties paid by the Moore and other merchants; and accordingly to th t gi r a general order that duties should be paid in all parts. To this the N lob consented with difficulty and declared, that if after this regulation any more d sputes l ould arise and the duties agreed on should not be paid, h should have no remedy left, but laying l trade entir ly open, and gi ing general liberty to the merchants of the country and all other nat ons to carry on their commerce cu tom free

In due course Vans tart and Hastings settled with the Nawab a treaty for the inland trade s follows —

1 t That for ll trad imported or exported by shipping the Company s *dustuck* sl ll be granted and it hall pass unmolested ad free of custom as u sual.

d For all trade from one place in the country to another in commodities produced in the country as salt betel-nut, tobacco, etc the Comp y s *du tuck* shall not be g nted but it shall go with the *du tuck* of the Buxbander shahbander or other officer of the country government.

d That at the t me of tak ng out the said *d t ck* d before the despatch of the goods the duties hall be paid accord ng to the rates, whic sl ll be particularly settled and anne ed to this agreement.

4th Th t the said d ties so to be paid before the exportation, shall be the whole th t are t be paid so that after the despatch of the goods, nothing shall be paid t the hokeys in the road, nor t the place of sale

5th. That al goods, being f rwarded ther with the Company s *d tuck* or that of the go ernm nt, shall meet with no obstruction or delay The guards of hokeys on th road hall have noth ng more t do th n dem nd a r ght of the *d tuck* unless they shall observe the lo tr to be laden w th a la ger quantity of goods than are mentioned in the *dust ck* i which case they re to g e l med t notice to th earest English factory as well as to th nearest Officer of the go ernment, that ldere may be sent to be a ssist ar m nation; but they re not t detain them in the road.

6th If any er should attempt to pass goods w th t a *d st ck* r ther f m the gov rnment or the company or l ll lancerely forward a Comp ny s *d st ck* to pass ssat t k ree, or sthgr pr ncre I the country from place t place for inland trade such goods hall be seized and confiscated The guard and hok ys in the road are to stop them, and t give notice t the nearest English factory as w ll as to the nearest officer of the government.

7th If any person, not having a *dustuck*, shall attempt to pass boats, or goods clandestinely, under the care of, and in company with other boats or goods having a *dustuck*, such boats or goods so attempted to be passed clandestinely shall be seized and confiscated

8th The gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants, and shall on no account use force in buying and selling If any disputes arise in the course of their business they shall not attempt to redress them themselves, but shall make their complaints to the Fouzedar, or other officer of the government, and have the matter tried before him In like manner, if any merchant or inhabitant shall be aggrieved by any English gomastah, he shall make his complaints to the Fouzedar, or other officer of the government, and the gomastah being duly summoned, shall appear before him to answer to the charge, and have the matter determined

9th To deter the Fouzedars and other officers of the government from being guilty of any partiality, they shall be enjoined to transmit to the Nabob copies of their proceedings, upon all trials where English agents or gomasthas are concerned, likewise to give a copy to the agent or gomastah, who, if he thinks himself aggrieved, may send the same to his principal, and he may make his complaint to the President, who, if the case requires it, will apply to the Nabob for redress, and when any fouzedar, or other officer of the government, shall be proved guilty of such partiality, the Nabob shall punish him in the most exemplary manner '

These regulations, reasonable as they cannot but appear to us, were to become the subject of violent quarrels

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10 VANSITTART AND HASTINGS AT PATNA

Having paid farewell to Mir Kasim who was setting out with his army on an expedition against Betiah and Nepal, the Governor and his assistant left for Patna which place they reached on January 1st, 1763 Four days were spent here in discussing with Ellis the complaints which the Nabob's deputy had to put forward, and which chiefly concerned the Burhanna gate—a small wicket in the N W quarter of the city, and a *cantonment* known as *Colaedeary*, which had been set up "without any right grant or order, either from the Company or the Nabob " The point about the gate was that it afforded a short cut into the city for the folk at the factory, who would have otherwise had to go five or six hundred yards round to the west gate of the city, but the Nabob insisted that, in the interest of good order in the city, the wicket must be closed and the Governor thought it best to comply Orders were given that *Colaedeary* should be abolished The Governor left Patna on January 5th, and Monghyr on the 9th On January 16th he left Cossimbazar "upon hearing news of the French ships in Balasore Road and reached in Calcutta on the 18th'

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11 THE CONFLICT IN THE COUNCIL

At [illegible] Mir Kasim At Monghyr the Governor [illegible] of Calcutta orders [illegible] to all the [illegible] the Nabob [illegible] take effect [illegible]

Vansittart, "I had hardly left him when he despatched copies of my letters to his officers in all parts of the country with general orders for their observance and a direction that all English gomastahs, who refused to comply with them, should be turned out of the country

This act of suicidal folly on the part of the Nabob can only be explained on the supposition that he had bitterly repented of the concession allowed English merchants to carry on their private trade on equal terms with the native merchants He had no doubt formed the opinion that Vansittart was a man of weak character and so much committed to supporting his, (the Nabob's) interests, that, armed with the authority of the Governor's letters he would be in a fair way of being able to route out the English trade and traders piece-meal. As Mir Kasim's action was so well calculated to drive the Governor to side with his opponents in the Council, it may with safety be said that the Nabob by this step, embarked on that course of recklessness which was to end in measures which nothing could ever atone for and which could only gratify a lust for revenge To add folly to folly the Nabob, in one of his letters, exempted the private trade of Vansittart and Hastings from liability

The Governor now found himself in an absolutely impossible situation, and the more so been as he had, while at Monghyr received £50,000 promised to himself and £20,000 for Colonel Caillaud. He was ill-fitted by nature, writes Elphinstone to be proof against the reckless counsels and abusive language of his opponents, and he was rendered feebler than usual by the consciousness of his pecuniary obligations to the Nabob and by his being himself engaged in the inland trade though without taking in the shares. On his arrival at Calcutta he learned from Amyatt that orders had been sent for all the members of the Board to come down from the upper provinces to settlements, with the exception of the Chiefs of Patna and Chittagong (on account of the distances) and that Major Carnac had taken his seat On February 1st the Governor entered a lengthy minute on the consultation in which he defended his transactions in the matter of the regulation of the inland trade and in particular made reply to the letter at Dacca who had in vehement terms represented the loss in which the new regulations would involve their concerns He stooped to deal with an insinuation conveyed in a letter from Johnstone and Hay to the effect that the motive of the restraint placed on the trade of others was the advancement of his own private affairs. As to the Major being a member of the Board, according to our Hon'ble Masters direction *who will very rarely only are decided lists* How the regulation of a method for carrying on the trade in salt betel-nut, and tobacco, can be brought under that title I cannot conceive nor know how he can be supposed to be a Judge of such a subject; yet if you consider his advanced age I am far from objecting to his being present In the meanwhile pending the assembling of the full Council, the Governor wrote to the Nabob that other regulations would be made by the Council and that he must restrain his people from exercising acts of violence against the English agent Amyatt, who had presided at the Board during Vansittart's absence also directed a minute denying that any authority had been conferred on the President for the entering upon of the late transactions.

On February 14th the Council met, including Vansittart Amyatt Billeen (Chief of Chittagong) Billers (Chief of Luckipore) Carter (Chief of Dacca) Hastings, Johnstone (Chief of Purnea) Hay Marriott and Watts The motion that Carnac should be called in all agreed, save the President, Hastings and Watts and as the majority were in favour of Carnac being called, Major Adams also took his seat The proceedings commenced with a minute presented by Amyatt

27 Ibid. p. 144. Elphinstone The Rise of the British Power in the East p. 3[illegible]
28 [illegible] Vol. II. pp. 224-232.

in which the whole proceedings of the Governor at Monghyr and Patna were censured [29] Before the proceedings for the day closed, Carnac delivered a letter claiming the command at Patna—"the station of Patna being the most likely quarter from whence we may expect troubles"—a claim which Vansittart opined had "all the appearance of his wishing to make them (the disputes with the Nawab) worse, and to be more at hand to act in concert with Mr Ellis to that end"

On the consultations of February 18th and 19th, when the Nawab's demand in regard to the Babunna gate was dealt with, we find not one member of the Council defended the Governor's decision, while two or three assigned to the Nawab an intent to offer an indignity to the English nation and possibly an act of hostility In consequence a letter in peremptory terms was written to the Nabob calling on him to re-open the gate In the matter of the ganj, the Council unanimously supported the Governor

If we were engaged on a general history of the English in Bengal and not simply with the humbler task of sketching the events which led up to the massacres at Patna, it would be necessary to give here a detailed account of the transactions of the Council from day to day, and nothing indeed would be found more interesting than a comparison of the views maintained in the several minutes but we must hasten our pace It was agreed that the Governor had in his letter exceeded his powers—"a decision", writes Elphinstone, "which if it had not been accompanied with violence and invective, would have been justified by the fact" [30] With the exception of Vansittart and Hastings, all held that the imperial firmands entitled them to trade in country produce duty-free, although seven of the twelve thought that, of favour but not of right, the Nawab should be allowed a duty of two and a half per cent. on salt, the Governor had agreed with the Nawab for nine To a resolution which, as Elphinstone tersely puts it, determined that "the agents were to be the only judges in all their disputes with private persons, and the chief of the factory in three with the Nawab's defendants" even Vansittart agreed, Hastings alone dissenting, and in these troubled days of ours, the words of the strenuous ruler of later days, are worth recalling —' As I have formerly lived among the country people in a very inferior station, and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the Government, and have met with the greatest indulgence and even respect, from zemindars and officers of Government I can with the greater confidence deny the justice of this opinion, I add further from repeated experience, that if our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, confine their lives to honest and fair trade, they will everywhere be courted and esteemed '

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12 THE GROWING FURY OF THE NAWAB

We parted last with Mir Kasim as he was setting forth on his expedition against Nepal If the account in the Seir Mutaqherin is to be believed, the origin of the expedition was calculated to excite the Nawab with disgust at the injustice the English had shown to him in the past and afterwards It could have been no secret that the Nawab returned from Patna to face once more his quarrel with the English The first thing he was said to do was to send for Ellis and have a long talk with a Christian Armenian Hearing of the [illegible] of February they [illegible] [illegible] feelings, he said [illegible]

[illegible]

29 [illegible]

When you came here an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to but it is amazing that not a single person has approved of it Notwithstanding all you have expressly directed to the chiefs at Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any regard to it, but return for answer "We do not approve of the Governor's proceedings when the gentlemen of the Council write to us, we will immediately follow their directions."

Since the commencement of Meer Mahamed Jaffer Cawn's management to the present time, I have not known any one but yourself * Now the gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions but require the orders of the Council, and they ruin the affairs of both this province [Behar] and Bengal, the zemindarees the merchandise the rights etc for what reason I cannot conceive. I neither have nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself and therefore I plainly write that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us you should act in such a manner that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, excuse me of it. I understand that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar This appears to me a trivial matter Let them establish whom they please It is of no consequence to me I do not regard matters of so small importance God made the world, and everything is made by Him .. I gave you lands to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees for the maintenance of troops to destroy my enemies but it is amazing that a number of gentlemen have on the contrary collected troops against me in order to ruin my country It is the universal persuasion that Europeans are to be confided in but to see all this surprises me

In a letter dated, February the 26th the Nawab is even still more effective Is it too much to be hoped that some day it will be practicable for the Calcutta Historical Society or the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to publish a volume of Mir Kasim's letters the Persian text on one page and the translation facing it? This letter concludes

As to what you write of my officers, it appears from thence that the agreement made between us, the Council has not assented to. To be more whatever your gomastahs write is all exactly just and proper and my people tell nothing but lies and barbarous falsities I must have all losses in your trade made good to you but who will indemnify me for the loss of revenues, partly due to my government?

I must cut off my officers heads, but your gomastahs, who are guilty of oppressions, receive no resentment from you. You know very well, Sir that I never intended such a treaty It was merely in compliance with your pleasure that I assented to it Now that the Council do not agree to it and want to make another treaty that is unreasonable These demands, which I formerly made to you, I now again repeat. The first is this from the beginning till now the Nawab of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have done and do with you having no correspondence with the rest of the Board.

The second is, I have before remarked to you, that the Company's trade has been established from time immemorial but, at present, besides the Company trade the gomastahs of the English gentlemen have set up the trade of salt, tobacco, dried fish, timbers etc and purchase from the country people by force and violence, and are continually making disputes and wrangling with my officers so that the poor the inhabitants

* Kasim to Vansittart Vol. II pp 64 By "you" "yours" in the letter it is that Mir Kasim means the Governor in Calcutta and not Vansittart himself for he was not in Bengal when Mir Jafar placed on the throne

the merchants, and manufacturers of my country are oppressed, and both you and myself are troubled with unjust vexations. Now, I say, that your gomastahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported and exported and are to refrain from those articles of trade which interfere with the revenues due to my government and are a cause of disputes, and the ruin of the inhabitants and poor people.

The third is whether I shall have the charge of the expense of the army, and management of the country, and his Majesty's revenues, and that your gomastahs shall carry on those branches of trade, which were never allowed in the country by interfering in the government, under the pretence of trade, and that my officers shall not have their authority, nor offer to oppose them. If this be the case, it is out of my power to carry on the business of this subahdarce. I wish not to be concerned in a charge of so much vexation, you may be pleased to find some other to undertake it. For my part I am heartily tired of these disputes and vexations. Why do you take the trouble to send forces against my officers? Why do you write to them to quit their stations, and repair to me, for they have no forces to oppose you? You are sensible that in Chittagong, Midnapore, and Burdwan, which, agreeable to treaty, I ceded to the Company, not a man of mine ever enters, and I refrain even from providing the customary cloths for my own use. If you do not determine justly for me, it is a matter of great surprise.

Mir Kasim's professed ignorance of the powers of the Board, had, of course, the effect of making the members of that body very anxious to enlighten him and that in a manner very ill calculated to protect the dignity of the Governor. It was determined that a passage should be added to the letter addressed by the Governor to the Nawab explaining that the former was only their agent, and that the decision of matters lay with the majority of the Council. Hay, indeed would have gone further and actually moved that a letter should be written by the whole Board, but his motion was lost. It now, however, seemed clear to all that the dispute had gone so far, that to avert a final rupture and war, a peaceful negotiation carried on by representatives of the majority on the Council must be tried. For this purpose Amyatt and Hay were selected as envoys, but before the Nawab's consent to this mission had been obtained, acts of violence of an even more marked character had been perpetrated. From Dacca came the news of a fray between the native officers and a party of sepoys who had been sent to release some Jesuits detained at Jehanganj, and it might well have been expected that incidents of this kind would have ceased to be of daily occurrence, as the Nawab's people on the one hand were no longer desirous to act under the Governor's letters, and the factors, on the other, were convinced by the Board's [illegible] that [illegible] the very day the mullah's party arrived from Dacca, the news came of a fray [illegible] Behar. Lieutenant Downe had been detached, at the head of three [illegible] Sepoys, with instructions to [illegible] the Company's [illegible] The Lieutenant [illegible] Allah Ali Khan, the Nawab's [illegible] Patna [illegible] left a company of sepoys at Tanda to take possession of the Company's factory. Mir Kasim had [illegible] a loan of 3000 [illegible] the [illegible] Patna, the troops of Tanda [illegible] the Company's factory [illegible] The Nawab's [illegible]

[illegible]

the Council will not put an end to these disputes. Certainly the Council had no such intention, at least not until their trade had been secured. In one letter Mir Kasim goes so far as to employ the phrase "your servants and men of low character" in another he writes "I have no resource but to make use of you do, of expressions tending to dissolve our friendship." These letters were read in Council on March 4th and the Governor was called upon to address a reply to the Nawab which may perhaps be styled an ultimatum.

> I have received your letters of the 11th, 14th and 15th instant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade and the disputes, which have arisen between the dependents of your Government and ours, our original orders were to apply to you and your officers for redress, on any occasion of complaint on our part but this was so often done without effect that, finding the interruptions and disturbances daily increase inasmuch that our business was in most parts put an entire stop to, we had no remedy left to make use of but that of force to free our business and therefore disagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give such orders to all the factories of which you have been before duly advised

> What Mr Ellis has done in the Patna Province for clearing the Company's business, was agreeable to the said orders sent to him by the Board; and I must here particularly observe with reference to that gentleman's not applying to you for redress in any occasion that you have absolutely put it out of his power by declaring that you would not answer any of his letters, and having really left unanswered four which he actually wrote you.

> I do not find that you have yet given orders to any of your officers to forbear from obstructing our business as they still continue to do it to the utmost of their power except in those places where our troops are actually stationed for its protection; and when you have given such orders as shall put an end to these obstructions we on our part, will not interfere with your officers, or the officers of your government

> I have wrote you before of our resolution and demands, and now I again acquaint you that we shall insist upon compliance with them in every point Myself as well as the Council, are resolved to support you in your government and all its rights but if you oppose our people in the execution of the orders, which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such conduct as an open declaration of war but to show you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue to our resolution to send you Mr Amyatt (who will be accompanied by Mr Ellis) for the purpose we have before wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to that letter

> I must in this letter take notice of two particular phrases that you make use of *servants and men of low character* I am very unwilling to suppose you could by such opprobrious expressions mean the gentlemen of Council but they will see in it an explanation, as we will by no means suffer ourselves to be treated with disrespect

Before this letter had been despatched, tidings reached Calcutta that Mir Kasim had executed a coup d'état the possibility of which he had more than hinted to Vansittart and Hastings at the time of their stay at Monghyr The measure was as clever in itself but as futile from the statesman's point of view as that remarkably clever more—King James II's Declaration of Indulgence Mir Kasim has evidently stolen that page from the *Trial in Vogue* in which we read how a *chief lady in waiting, etc, was called to talk on her master's door* talked all the other doors. Called upon to remit the dues on Persian inland trade Mir Kasim now remitted all duties

for European and Native alike, for the space of two years. The effect of this intelligence on the Council has been thus described by Elphinstone:

> "This intelligence transported the ruling part of the Council beyond all bounds of reason. All declared it a violation of the Company's rights; some pronounced it an act of usurpation to remit the Emperor's customs without his leave, though they had themselves accepted both exemption and territories as little sanctioned by the Emperor; others denied the right of a Nabob whom they had raised to the Subahdarship and supported by force of arms against the King, to employ the power, with which they had been pleased to invest him, to undermine their royal privileges and ruin their trade; and one member derided the notion of the Nawab's possessing any independence in his own territory, and treated the assertion of such a right as more worthy of his hired agents than of members of that board.. ... .This was the tone adopted by men, who, seven years before, had lived in slavish dependence on the Nawab's government, and who, by their subsequent treaties had acquired no right or pretence for interfering in his internal administration. The motives they affected were proportioned to the greatness of their pretensions. No one hinted at the danger to their illicit gains; it was the honour of the factors, the dignity of the Council, above all, the glory of the nation, which was to suffer by the suppression of smuggling."[32]

Shortly after this meeting of Council, news came of tidings of violence, at the Nawab's instigation, at Gya, and also that his Deputy at Dacca had put a complete stop to the trade in that district. We cannot but be wondered why the Council did not at once direct that the army should in readiness to march, for the measures which they decided should be taken were calculated to prove a final rupture of their relations with Mir Kasim and the Nawab, so far from welcoming the idea of the mission of Amyatt and Hay, was inclined to regard it as but a repetition of the mission which had deposed his predecessor. This view was expressed by Batson on April 1st, but the Governor still clung to the opinion that "the Nabob has not the design of breaking with us," and it was agreed that "the Nabob should again be wrote to, to insist of his receiving the deputation and that Messrs Amyatt and Hay should proceed to, and wait for his answer at Cossimbazar." A refusal on the Nawab's part to accept the demands of the Commission was to be held "a declaration on his side of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

which were to be taken should the rupt re take place If the Nawab were to march upon Patna, the English at th t place were to endeavour to possess themselves of the city and wait further orders from either the Council or Major Adams. Should the task of attacking the city seem too hazardous, then they must take such post as they can best defend themselves in, and, if they can, cover the factory until they shall receive further orders as above mentioned. Should the Nawab remain at Monghyr they must follow the same course Should he march on Calcutta, then after having seized the city they must move down to Reinulla, to be in greater readiness to join Major Adams. The question was then raised "How shall they be informed of w rupture or what shall they construe as such." The difficulty lay on the one h nd, in the great distance between Patna and Calcutta and the consequent difficulty of keeping Ellis informed of wh t was going on and, on the other the possibility that the gentlemen at Patna, if left to take action at their own discretion, might by error in olve the Company in w war For safety s sake it was determined that the folk at the Patna factory should write for information from the Council before acting upon the plan laid down To this, on the 9th of M y the Chief and Council at Patna made reply

> We have recei ed your l tter of the 14th instant, with the resolut ons of the Board, which, as far as we comprehend them will not allow us to construe any act of the Nabob as hostile, although ever so greatly tend ng to our ru n but we are to wait not'l we have notice from you of a rupture being declared Who there may be to receive your commands, is hard to say but most probably neither any of us, nor of the party now here as we shall clearly e nce.
>
> We had intelligence (not from hircarahs) that if the army should come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us, in which case he will certainly remove our danks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will be the th rd day of his march before we can receive cert n ad ces of it, and a single speed will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no imped ment; but it is more probable that at such a juncture he never gets there and still more so that your answer never reaches us. How then, are we to act ?
>
> This factory it is well known is not tenable if attacked from the city and to abandon it will, mongst other evils give such a shock to the spirit of our troops as may induce the greatest part of our sepoys (in whom our principal strength consists) to desert us and go to the Nabob, where they are better insured of success and will meet with ample encouragement which has not been spared, even when there was no appearance of rupture to those who would desert w th the r arms Another substanti l reason why we cannot leave the factory is, our having put our amm nition, for its greater security in the lower part of the house The magazin where it before lay being fail le to be blown up by w common rocket.
>
> But let us suppose for w moment that, on the Nab b marching ag n t w we quit the factory and take post Are we to sacr fice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city ? For it cannot be supposed that they will be permitted t come out, or if they could, the situation of most of them is such that the r being brought i to the r will be attended with certain death. When we be e fort fied ourselves in this post, our affairs re not all mended, f r the Nawab has only to surround and starve n ; whilst we dying by inches sit waiting for your orders, wh ch can never arri e but w th the army which t the soonest will be forty days after its march from Monghyr How are we to sal ut all f t time ? The Nabob secures all p m sons coming from Bengal, and such is the ar rity here that had it not been for the guns which so much pains

33 Dak (Dâk)—stationed letter-carriers.

34. Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. [illegible]—4. Naib—a deputy in this case the Nawab Deputy

was taken to abolish, we had long ere now been obliged to take up arms to procure our daily sustenance. But was there plenty, we have not a rupee to purchase it. With the utmost difficulty we have scraped money together to pay our troops for these two months past, and at this time have not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of the demands that will be upon us in a few days although we acquainted you of the lowness of our cash as long ago as the 3rd of February.

This part, 'tis true, runs no risk from the Nabob, provided we are allowed to act, and make the most of every advantage that may offer; but if our hands are tied, our destruction becomes inevitable. Such a body as this must ever act offensively and vigorously, and nip the designs of the enemy in the bud. 'Tis by such conduct only that they can hope to preserve themselves, and surely it is just and laudable to make use of every means Providence has put in our power to defeat the attacks of a cruel and faithless enemy.

Our safety lies in mastering the city by a *coup de main* before the Nabob gets into it, for afterwards it may be impracticable, and the consequence of our acting on the defensive anywhere but in the city, we have already pointed out. Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communication will be cut off, and most probably not opened but by your army. If, therefore, we should obey nature's first law, we hope we shall not be found culpable, though it may not perfectly coincide with your orders.

We cannot conclude without observing to you that we think we have noways merited the diffidence you express, nor given the least reason even to suspect that we would involve the Company in a war, by a rash and unprecedented step. We rather think that we have given proof of a contrary disposition in bearing the many insults we have received, particularly since Mirda Ali Cawn has been appointed Naib here, whose people have even dared to allow and call us opprobrious names aloud from the walls. . . . . . .

Before Amyatt and Hay could secure an interview, the Nawab had sent his officers to capture the two Jagat Sett brothers, Mahtab Rai and Raja Surup Chand, the heads of that great banking house which had played so important a part in the history of Bengal and the first Revolution. To the protest which the English presented against this act, Mir Kasim [illegible] that when the English [illegible] and carry away his officers no harm was held to be done, but if he [illegible] chooses to [illegible] a man one of his own dependants [illegible] so far from [illegible] commerce [illegible] and not the least regard to his [illegible] have done all they could to throw the affairs of the Nizamat [illegible] He had [illegible] In fact [illegible] the brothers with [illegible]

[illegible]

On May 15th Amyatt and Hey waited on the Nawab at Monghyr. At first there seemed to be some hope that the Nawab would accept the demands of the Company, but on either side there were complaints of a too haughty bearing. To throw everything into confusion, at this critical moment, some boats laden with arms for the English troops at Patna, which had been despatched two months before, in passing by Monghyr were stopped by the Nawab's guards. This circumstance either served to cause a genuine alarm or else to afford a pretext for the claim, which Mir Kasim made at once, that the forces must be either brought down from Patna, or else Ellis must be recalled, and either Amyatt, McGuire, or Hastings appointed in his room.

Having received a number of letters from both Mir Kasim and the Deputation, a general Council, on June 9th, resolved that the troops should not be removed from Patna, and that if the Nabob persisted to demand it, or to detain the boats of arms, Messrs. Amyatt and Hey should be directed to leave Monghyr. At the same time the gentlemen at Patna were advised of these resolutions, and ordered to act as might be directed by Messrs. Amyatt and Hey.

The following is the account given by the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* of Amyatt's ill fated deputation:—

"Intelligence coming at the time that Mir Amyatt was drawing near the Nawab, who had beforehand sent for Mir-abdollah-safer from Amir-abad, a reasonable gentleman, whose merit has many times been mentioned in these memoirs, now thought proper to join me the poor man, to him in the same commission, and he desired us, as we were both upon familiar terms with Mir Amyatt, to go forward in order to receive him, and to endeavour to discover what was his real purpose and what might be his real intentions in coming so far. He at the same time appointed a Gentoo, to attend us as Persian secretary, and he ordered twenty spies to be at our command both as spies and as messengers. These twenty men were divided in two divisions, and commanded by two head men as officers, who had orders to disguise themselves like menial servants, and to introduce themselves the one into Mir-abdollah's service, the other into mine, with injunctions never to be absent from any of the meetings or conferences which might be held with the English, and to take care to observe not only the expressions and words, but even the gestures of the hands as well as the head between us, transmitting every day a full account of what they should hear or see. One of these twenty messengers, on receiving a letter, was to carry it to the next post, and then to return to his office. Every one of us having received our lesson in this manner we quitted Monghyr and arrived at Gangaprasad, where we had the good luck to meet Mir Amyatt, but on embracing him took care to whisper that we had spies over us. Mir Amyatt and the others being thereby put upon their guard, spoke and acted with precaution. For being every night at the same landing place we used to pass the greatest part of our time with the English, and whatever we had seen or heard, was fully set down both by us and by the head spies, and reverally dispatched to the Nawab every evening. One day to avoid all suspicions, I opened my commission to Mir Amyatt with as a little trace and I spoke to him as I had been instructed to do by the Nawab. "What can possibly be" said I "the reason of your coming, and what is your intent? Being both of us well-wishers to His "Highness, as well as to the English, we are desirous of being informed of your intentions, that "we may contrive expedients for the benefit of both parties." Mir Amyatt, with a loud voice answered "It is customary with Indians, when they come to visit, to tell news but such things "as may keep us in good humour, and when they return to the Nawab they are full to speak "to him, so as to humour him in his wishes; and hence our real intent on both sides remains "concealed from each other party and our views do not come to light. It is to avoid those "inconveniences, that we have quitted our homes, to come so far in company with intention to see "the Nawab face to face, and to tell him what we have to say as well as to hear what he has to

"answer, and, this being the case, it is needless that we should have any business with any other "person." This declaration of Mr Amyatt's putting an end to all political topics, we took care in our conversation with the English to drop many expressions of reproach, and to dispute with them in such a manner, as was pointed out by the times; it being the only expedient we could devise, to preserve ourselves from the Nawab's suspicions, and to avoid feeling the effects of his resentment. On the day when this last conversation took place, the contents of which were severally forwarded to Court both by us and by the head spies, we arrived at Baghalpoor and there received a letter from the Nawab, which recalled both Mir-abdollah and me, adding that as Mr Amyatt did not choose to enter into any particulars with us it was needless we should stay with him any more, but, that we must manage so as to be at Court before the Englishman's arrival. Mir-abdollah, having informed Mr Amyatt of this recall, we took our leave of him, and returned to Monghyr, where we waited on the Nawab immediately, after having been met in the way by several messengers that came to hasten our march. Being in his presence, he commenced putting questions to us. As my poor friend, Mir-abdollah, (on whom be peace!) had not a ready delivery, and could not express himself properly, his answers displeased the Nawab, and he was twice reproached and afterwards dismissed. He went home, and I followed him, with intent to take some rest, when a messenger came from Aaly Ibrahim-khan, informing me that His Highness wanted me immediately, and that I must go with the Khan to Court. Pain I was to put on a full dress again, and to repair to the Nawab's. This Prince was in his private apartments, sitting in the outer room of his bath, and in close conference with Ghurghin-khan. I took my seat in a corner, and Aaly-Ibrahim in another. The Nawab repeated to Gurghin-khan what he had heard from my mouth; he then turned towards me, and ordering me to draw nearer, he bid me tell Gurghin-khan all my observations. Upon this command, I drew near, and sitting over against that General, I recommenced my tale. The General, after hearing a few words, seemed ruffled, and, to shew that my report deserved but little credit, he turned towards the Nawab, and said: *My Lord Nawab, were a man to rip open an Englishman's body with a knife, he would not for that come at his secret.* He then turned his face to me, and asked me some questions, which I answered. At the third or fourth answer, he seemed impatient, and said: "My Lord Khan, I want nothing of all that. Pray, do answer three or four questions which I am going to put to you. What is Mr Amyatt's intent? And does he come to "intrigue against the Nawab, or not? Is he come to pry into the state of the army and fortress, "or not? Has he any friendship or good will for us, or does he come with hostile intentions?" On hearing these words, I was extremely surprised, and looking at him full in the face, I answered: "My Lord, your questions really confound me, and I am amazed at what you mean. It is but a "moment since you said yourself, that were one to rip open an Englishman's body, he would not "for that come at his secret, and you want me now to reveal to you Mr Amyatt's most secret "thoughts! As to his coming with sinister intentions, it would be really surprising that he should "harbour any such designs; the instant he set foot in your house, and in the place [illegible] to "be afraid of sinister designs, and to [illegible] from him. As to what you have said [illegible] to pry into the state of the army "and fortress, I am of opinion that not Mr. Amyatt, but the [illegible] "[illegible] will of course [illegible] knowledge of both [illegible] army, "and [illegible] knowledge. With respect to your [illegible] "[illegible] that [illegible] "[illegible] friend, and [illegible] "[illegible] The Nawab [illegible]

a friend to me became now more estranged than ever But the Navvab dismissed me and as I was going home in the utmost amazement, I could not but admire that fulness of power in the divine dispensations of Providence which had erected such and the like people to stand as our heads as Generals of armies, and as Ministers of State, with unlimited powers of binding and loosing The next morning after this conference the Navvab sent his own nephew Abo-ally-khan, and his Minister Hadji Nabet-ray to meet and receive Mr Amyatt and on the third day the latter arrived at Menchyr where he alighted at set of tents that had been pitched up for his quarters The Navvab went to see him at which time the visit became one continued scene of dissimulation and reciprocal fringing The next day Mr Amyatt returned the visit He had with him Mr Hay and Captain Johnston, together with some other gentlemen, amongst whom was a Mr Gulston, a young man lately come into India, who in so short a time had learned the Persian very well, and at our first interview had conceived as much good will for me as I had for him The Navvab, on descrying Mr Amyatt got up as is the etiquette and moved a few steps from his Musnud, and brought him to sit upon some chairs placed there on purpose upon one of which he took his own seat. After little conversation, the usual ceremonial of Paan, Attar and Rose-water was brought up and then several trays covered with stuffs were produced, together with one plate containing jewels and gems all which were presented to him On his taking leave, the Navvab got up and re-conducted him as well as all the English as far as the end of the carpeting where he invited them to an entertainment. At night they all came and after having been amused with dances and a bonfire they were complimented with an entertainment, which lasted beyond midnight. Since that day the English visited the Navvab several times, and at each time several complaints, and many reproaches were taking place on both sides and at each visit matters seemed verging towards a rupture For it was remarked, that at every meeting the Navvab, whether by chance or otherwise never failed to commit some action, or to be guilty of some gesture which never failed to give offence and to be held as a fit subject of complaint. At last, the discontents ran so high that the truce Mr Amyatt, who had advanced as far as the door of the Navvab's apartment, returned back much displeased nor would he have been brought again, had not some of the Nabob's favourites run after him, and intreated his being pacified. Mr Amyatt and the there complained of the Nabob's guards at the gate and of some other of his servants The Nabob professed his ignorance and made many apologies but the English could not be brought to believe that his servants would dare in commit such actions without their master's consent and they were still more displeased at the apology However as the Navvab was offering many excuses, they determined that the only method with him was, to put his words to the trial. With that view Mr Gulston and Captain Johnston, got on horse-back at daylight as is the English custom and went out to take an airing and to see the country but as soon as they offered to go somewhat far several foot-guards, stationed at that part, forbade their proceeding that way and some troopers, that suddenly appeared, opposed their passage The Englishmen seemed to talk high, and to carry every thing with a high hand, forced their passage forward. The guards increased, lighted up their matches and put themselves in a posture of defence and the English, after having attempted to venture in turn them retreated to town and went directly to the Nabob where they vented themselves in severe complaints, and made use of several high expressions. The Nabob flatly denied having any hand in the matter and excused his people he also apologized for himself, and pretended ignorance But this did not persuade any effect the English nor was this dust wiped off from their breast and this

[illegible] always [illegible] [illegible], having at the very first interview [illegible] himself with haughtiness, and been all the [illegible] looking the N[illegible] which with the impertinences was the general style, that Prince refused to speak to him any more Amyatt [illegible] air looks, and tone of voice as well as his style of speech, may be conjectured from the [illegible] to observe him, that the [illegible] English, being in those days unacquainted [illegible] Persian and Hindostany, and being [illegible] as master of the [illegible] spoke [illegible] [illegible] Mir-cassem, [illegible] and Roland Hastings, was obliged to make use of Linguist.— Translator's Note.]

event having alienated their minds, their discontent ran higher and higher, and at last it undermined the wall of good will and sincerity. The Nawab was every day holding Councils on these matters with his favourites, for instance, with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and with Mirza-shems-eddin. These men of sense always proposed some expedient to renew the conferences, in order both to soothe Mr. Amyatt's mind, and to pacify the Nawab. On my own part, as I laboured under the imputation of being in connection with the English, I did not dare to offer a word in their behalf, but being also intimate with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and with Mirza-shems-eddin, I used to impart to them such expedients and notions of mine, as I thought might conduce to a good understanding, or keep at a distance the thoughts of hostility, and these were soon imparted to the Nawab, who always assented, but not for any length of time. For as soon as it was four in the afternoon, at which time Gurghin-qhan used to come and to engross him as late as nine o'clock at night, all was undone again, so that he would efface himself every trace of those lines, which his well-wishers had been at so much pains to trace on the glass of his mind; and in the morning, not the least vestige of them could be discerned. Instead of that, the General used to engrave thereon his own infructuous persuasions, and that too, in such deep characters, that no hand and no tool could efface them afterwards. This management took place so constantly, that once Aaly-hibrahim-qhan losing all patience, wrote a note to the Nawab in these very words: *Since the advices and counsels offered by your well-wishers, and which seem to all appearance, never fail in the evening to be obliterated by Gurghin-qhan's suggestions, it is needless that either your Highness, or your friends and well-wishers, should fatigue themselves any more upon an unfortunate subject, for in the end, we all find that nothing is done, but what has been ordained by Gurghin-qhan. It is then proper that this affair should be wholly committed to his care, without giving further trouble to your own mind, as well as to every one of us on so disagreeable a subject. Let it be all do as he shall find, (and this after all would be nothing novel) it is but what happens every day. In one word, (for we must end) we are unanimously of opinion, that if your Princely mind be for peace, Mr. Amyatt's heart ought not to be estranged by actions and words that derogate from the high character which our master bears, and, if you be for a rupture, and for your plan of military operations on Gurghin-qhan's motions and scheme, will to do this, or to come on an embassy, in contrary to the rules of a Princely behaviour and behoof the dignity of a Sovereign. So far from abating any thing from the regard and attention which it is evident to you, the people of that nation, we are of opinion that every exhibition of respect ought to be shown them now, more it because they are sensible the state of affairs. We do not mean to say, that the separation ought to be effected by the sword, or the contrary they ought to be. We contend for, that such actions as these are evidently are not of a nature either to and any thing to the [illegible] that from the [illegible] dispute, or [illegible] the [illegible] All these [illegible] that [illegible] perhaps.*

Gurghin-qhan having [illegible] and for two or three days [illegible] that a letter from Calcutta came to [illegible] Mr. Amyatt [illegible] people [illegible] though [illegible] [illegible]

"fight against two thousand five hundred." To this the Nawab having said that he wondered why nobody would say so much to Gurghin-qhan himself Aaly-hibrahim-qhan answered, that if His Highness's pleasure was that so much should be said to Gurghin-qhan, it would prove a small affair. The Nawab a little affected by these words, desired Radja Nobet-ray and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan to go and bring Gurghin-qhan to Court, as he intended to consult him on this subject. The two Lords accepted the commission and departed. Gurghin-qhan on hearing their errand, seemed to be in a passion, and said, "My office is that of Grand-master of the artillery and I am but a soldier nor has I any business with consultations and politics. Let His Highness consult with his friends "and ta our tes. Where ever there is war and I am sent to stand in some post, I hope I shall not t il to d my duty. But as for politics I know nothing of them." The Radj observing the violence of the man's temper said no word, but turned his eyes towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. The Qhan h g chided Gurghin-qhan a little upon his ill humour and these very words: "The Nawab-aaly djáh asks advice from his Grand-master of the artillery and it appears that he never transacts business without consulting him. Why then does not the Grand-master of the artillery give such advice as he thinks best for his own honour and for his master's service?" These words having somewhat pacified Gurghin-qhan, he turned himself towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and raised both his hands, which he set open against each other. He explained his thought by this comparison or allegory: *The Nawab and the English, said he "stand now in this manner: that is, they are upon a par and on equality and on the same level: but if he does not hold firm and choose to lower his tow a little* (and here he sunk his right a little) *the other hand will remain where it is and of course higher. If on the contrary his hand remains where it is, the English hand must of it lower and the Nawab will remain with a superiority on his side. As to the rest let His Highness "do what he please: he the master."* The envoys returned to the Nawab with this answer and they reported the whole transaction minutely: but this opinion of the General's having put an end to all thoughts about pacification, nothing was thought of now but a rupture and open hostilities. So that Mr Amyatt finding it useless to make any further stay resolved to return and he took his leave. The Nawab at first wanted to keep every one of the English as hostages; at last, after a deal of parley he consented to dismiss them all, under condition that Mr Hay should be detained at Monghyr until Mirza-mahmed-aaly and some other of the Nawab's officers confined at Calcutta, should be released, and upon their way to Monghyr at which time he would release Mr Hay. The latter having consented (and this consent of his became in the sequel the cause of his death) Mr Amyatt and the others obtained leave and went down the river in their boats.

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14. THE MURDER OF AMYATT.

The circumstances of Amyatt's murder are still involved in obscurity. The diaries give no one account, the *Seir-el Mutaqhers* gives us another. Perhaps M. Raymond, the translator of the *Seir-el Mutaqhers* may be trusted.

What I think of this narrative of our author is but that he was the first from the scene of action, or possibly wrote this narrative some years later? The Nawab's order being to send Amyatt with his retinue to Monghyr Mahmed-taky-qhan betook himself to the following expedient, to execute the command with ease and without tumult. Being then encamped on the Bagraty between Murshidabad and Cassimbazar as soon as the boats were descried, he sent his friend and steward, Aga Sadik to invite Amyatt to an entertainment. Amyatt excused himself, and continued rowing in the middle of the stream. Another message was sent by a person of still greater consequence who represented, that the entertainment being ready the General would think himself aggrieved by the disappointment. Amyatt, being again excused himself the envoy returned; and, on his hearing the boat-men were hauled from there and ordered to bring to. This order was

answered by two musket-balls, and then by a volley, which being answered from shore the boats were immediately boarded, and such a scene of slaughter ensued, as is hardly to be described, as Amyatt, by his eternal instigations, as well as by his very haughty temper, was reputed the author of the rupture All these particulars I know from the report then general, from Aga [illegible] who has been my friend and neighbour, for full sixteen years, from the Secretary and servants of the General's, and lastly, from three women, from amongst the five sets of dance-girls, that had been assembled on the occasion "

The murder of Amyatt[37] seems to have taken place on either the 3rd or 4th of July, 1763

15. THE EVENTS RECORDED IN THE DIARIES

This Introduction has now gone as far as can be required of an Introduction It has brought the reader up to the date at which the Diaries commence It would have been tempting to have gone further, to have summarised the Diaries, and to have shown how the outrage against humanity they record was faithfully and fully avenged, but to attempt this would require a greater expenditure of money in printing than the Society can at this present time meet. Neither can I devote any pages to the biography of the men who play so important a part in this tragedy The reader must think of Ellis as far more of a soldier than a civil servant At the siege of Calcutta in 1756 he had held an Ensign's commission, and distinguished himself by his bravery He distinguished himself in Clive's too little known fight at Sealdah, on which occasion he was reported dead, but survived with the loss of a leg [38] Peter Carstairs also, had covered himself with glory at the siege of Calcutta and had fought at Plassey Henry Lushington endured the Black Hole, was Clive's accomplice in the trick played upon Amichand—he was but eighteen years old when he picked the half-dead body of Holwell from among the dead in the Black Hole Prison Of Galston, the Persian translator, it is related, that when after the first massacre the remains of the victims were being cast down a well in the courtyard, his body being discovered, he was found to be still alive The men were inclined to have saved him, but, writes Broome "this gentleman who was an admirable linguist, smarting with his wounds and ignorant of their kindly intentions towards him, gave them abuse and threatened them with the vengeance of his countrymen upon which they threw him still breathing into the well with his more fortunate companions "

Of Sumroo so much has been written, that I must be content to refer the reader to Mr H Compton's *European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (Appendix [illegible])

As to Fullarton, in addition to what has been said above, I will only venture to quote the following passage from Lt.-Col D. G Crawford's interesting paper *Lists of Surgeons in India in 1749*

"*William Fullarton* plays a more prominent part in history than any of his contemporaries, except Holwell He was appointed one of the Surgeons to the Calcutta General Hospital, succeeding Holwell, in 1744 "The Board of [illegible]

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[37] Peter Amyatt [illegible]

[38] [illegible]

Knox but the majority did not approve of the appointment." (Letter from Bengal, dated 22nd August 1760 paras 30 and 61.) He was in Calcutta at the time of its siege and capture, in 1756 but appears to have been on board one of the ships, on professional duty at the time of the Governor's flight. On 8th December 1757 he was appointed Mayor of Calcutta for the ensuing year. In a letter dated 1st September 1760 he resigned his Surgeonry at Calcutta; after which he was appointed Surgeon to the Patna Agency. He greatly distinguished himself during the war in Behar both at the action at Maranpur on 9th February 1760 and in the subsequent siege of Patna. (Broome *History of the Bengal Army* Vol. I pp. 81 *93, and p. *97 these services are also mentioned in the *Seyr-ul Mutaqherin* translation Vol. III pp. 340 and 350.) Fullerton was taken prisoner with the other English Officers there when Patna was captured by Nawab Kasim Ali in 1763 and was the only man spared, when all the rest perished in the Patna massacre (Broome, p. 39[37], also *Seyr-ul Mutaqherin* Vol. II p. 506.) Subsequently he fell into bad odour with the Government. Two letters from Bengal, dated 16th January 1761 paragraphs 6—8 and 30th October 1761[38] paragraphs 85—93 speak of him unfavourably. "Mr Fullerton, formerly Surgeon, has been of late Nandcoomar's associate. He has always been at the head of a party and has now taken his passage home in the *Latham*. He is suspected of encouraging the correspondence to promote the disaffection of the Burdwan Rajah. Mr Fullerton is a great bane to Society and the Company's Service so much is said of him that he may not on any account be offered to return. In spite of having taken his passage in the *Latham*, he remained in India at least up to March 1766. The actual charge against him appears to have been as follows:—Nandkumar wrote to Raja Balwant Singh and Jagat Sheth on an intrigue with the English. General Carnac wished Nandkumar to be removed from the Nawab's service. Fullerton acted as interpreter at an enquiry held into Nandkumar's conduct, knew of this letter and did not mention it. He appears to have been censured only for a letter from him to extant in the Calcutta Record Office dated 1st March 1766 in which he answers the censures passed on him in the Consultation of 4th February 1766. This is the last definitely dated mention of Fullerton which I know of. He appears to have been on terms of intimate personal friendship with Syed Gaulam Hussain Khan, the author of the *Seyr-ul Mutaqherin*, who constantly refers to this friendship in the second volume. In Vol. III p. 7 he mentions Fullerton for the last time."

In an article on "Surgeons in India—Past and Present" which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1851 I find an extract from a letter written by Dr Anderson "of the Infantry" to his friend Dr Drummond and with this passage this Introduction may well close.

"Since my last the Excellency has been completely defeated, and in consequence obliged to retreat to Jaffier Khan's (Jafar Khan's) gardens, yesterday and proposes coming into the city this day (9th October 1763). Sumroo, with his sepoys arrived here last night, and I apprehend to effect his wicked designs. Mr Kelly and forty-three gentlemen with him were massacred and an equal number taken prisoners, and are yet remain. I expect my turn to-night. Dear D this is no surprise to me for I expected it all along. I must, therefore as a dying man, request of you to collect and remit my estate home as soon as possible and write a comforting letter to my father and mother; let them know I die decently as a Christian ought, and fear not him that kill the body and no more but I rejoice in hope of future existence through the merits of my Saviour."

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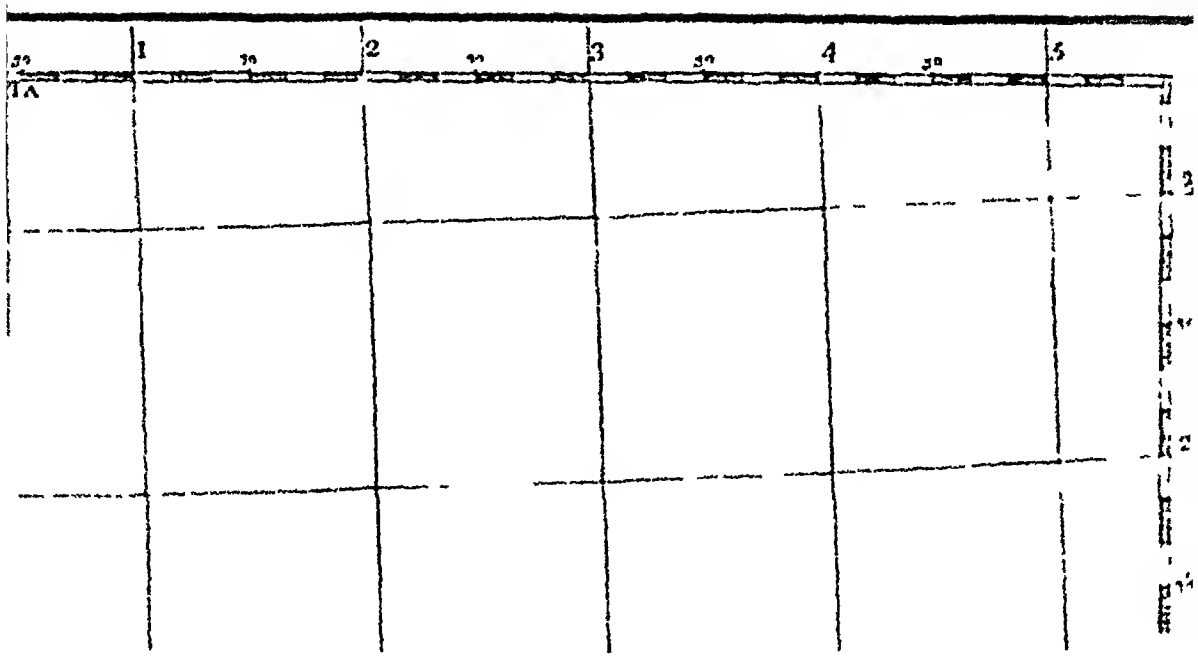
37 It is to be seen that the first massacre took place on October 5th.

38 Missing.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The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna, 1763.

The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna 1763.

THE DIARY OF SURGEON ANDERSON

June 23rd—Being the anniversary of the Battle of Plassey we all dined at the Factory when it was easy to observe by the faces of the gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the carpet for our council had been sitting and orders were issued out for the guards to be relieved by the awkwardmen, and the capital to meet the Commanding Officer at half a quarter past 8 in the evening. It seems the gentlemen of the factory had the advice of Mr. Amyatt's negotiations at Monghee being broken off and a day appointed for his departure, also that a strong detachment of horse and sepoys, to the number of 3,000, with 12 guns were on the March to Patna so that a war seemed inevitable, they thought it best to strike the first stroke by possessing themselves of the city of Patna. However they were willing to wait for certain advices from Mr Amyatt; accordingly the 24th at night

June 24th—In consequence of that advice, orders were given to attack the city next morning

THE DIARY OF SURGEON PETER CAMPBELL.

June 23rd 1763—This day I dined at the Factory with most of the officers, etc., in commemoration of the battle of Placey (*sic*) when I observed by the private conferences of Messrs. Ellis, Carstairs etc., that the public embroils, which have been long threatening appeared to be coming on to a crisis, which made me take Carstairs aside and ask him whether he thought I was safe to stay longer in the city; he told me for that night I may, but no longer and invited me out to his garden.

June 24th. This morning I employed myself in settling matters with my *banyan* and getting my things sent out to Captain Carstairs; dined at the Factory where the gentlemen kept everything very private arrived at Carstairs about 4 o'clock) upon inquiry of him I understood that they intended attacking the city to-morrow morning but he had just received a chit from Mr Ellis, wherein he mentioned he had received intelligence by the *cassid* that Mr Amyatt had been entertained by the Nabob with a *nach* and came home highly pleased; wherefore he thought their intentions of attack should be deferred till he heard from Mr Amyatt himself which he expected that evening and should then given him

SURGEON FULLARTON'S NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT PATNA

(Received and read in Council the 19th December 1763)

From the 17th of the month of June preparations of war were carried on with great vigour on both sides. Meanaly Ali Cawn who governed the city was employed in repairing the ramparts, clearing the ditch and posting troops on the walls and doubling all the guards to the westward of the city. The Factory walls were likewise repaired the ditch was cleared, and the 24 pounders were mounted; the terrace top of the Factory house, which was all round, fortified with sand bags, and two 3-pounders were mounted there.

June 23th.—About 10 o'clock at night on the 23th Jean Mr Ellis sent for me from the hospital, and ordered that the sick might be embarked in boats and carried over to the sand opposite to the city and from thence tracked up, and crossed over to the Factory. My orders were to embark at 2 o'clock in the morning (that being the hour appointed for the attack of the city).

imparted the notice. Betwixt 8 and 9 a message arrived that he had leave of the Nabob to proceed to Calcutta on the 24th; wherefore he ordered the attack should be made on the morning as they formerly agreed. Most of the officers supped with Carstairs and I came into the Factory betwixt eleven and twelve and found all the gentlemen making all preparation for the attack.

June 25th.—The army moved from Bankipore at 2 o'clock in the morning, and they judged in the factory that the army would reach the city before 4. Accordingly, about a quarter to 4, we heard firing, upon which a party of sepoys, which was stationed on the top of the factory house, was ordered to keep up a constant fire upon the rampart of the wall next the factory, and two 3 pounders, which was (*sic*), also there, were ordered to play away upon the same rampart, and the two 24 pounders below kept up an incessant fire till daylight (all this period a very little time, was returned from the city, as I believe they were all asleep when attacked). We now observed all the walls lined with our colours and sepoys which to be sure, in our situation, was very agreeable and every minute furnished us with the agreeable news of every hing going before us, in short by 9 we were confidently assured that we were in possession of every post, then our great folks began to look into the administration of the province permanently were issuing to the Phouzdars to continue their former obedience in sending in provisions, etc., to the city as formerly. Nuzzers were coming in plenty to the Chief, and joy reigned in the face of everybody. Fruits, wine etc., were sent in to the officers to refresh them, numbers of wounded men were now coming out of the city which employed Messrs Barton, Anderson, and Elliot the day, surmises now passed that we had not as yet got possession of the Killa, and by 12 was confirmed. About 12 o'clock Carstairs and Kinch came to the Factory, and informed us that we were beat out of the city, and that it was not in their power to make one main stand, which was the case, for by

June 25th—which was accordingly executed, and with the sick, which consisted of 23 Europeans, got safe to the Factory about 9 o'clock in the morning. At half an hour before one, the troops under the command of Captain Carstairs marched from the Cantonments in two divisions, and Captain Carstairs having sent 50 sepoys, 25 to each of the grand roads at 11 the night of the 24th June, to take everybody that might pass that way till the arrival of the troops. They took 50 prisoners, great many of whom were *harcarrahs*, by which means they had not the least intelligence in the city, the first commanded by Captain Carstairs, consisting of 150 Europeans, Captain Tabby's battalion of sepoys, and five Companies of Captain Wilson's, the second division consisted of 50 Europeans, Captain Turner's battalion of sepoys and two guns. The first division, with the scaling ladders, came down the great Western Road, the second came through the town right down to the West Gate and there remained under cover. The first division planted their ladders near the south west bastion of the city, they mounted and got in with little opposition and little loss, they marched down along the walls to the west gate, which they opened (our guns and small arms keeping a constant fire from the factory upon the city), and the second division and the guns came in. Lieutenant Downie who commanded in the factory with three companies of sepoys, a little after our troops had got the possession of the west gate, stormed the Barbuna gate, got in with little loss, and marched through the killa, partly by the riverside, partly by the lanes near the river. Captain Tabby with his battalion went round het

[illegible] Colonel [illegible] Mr Ler[illegible]

sepoys ere d persed and plundering so that scarce one hundred could be got together [illegible] quite fatigued, ha l g marched through thick wood, eed had no refreshment whea near s o'clock, about 120 of the enemy entered the fort and drove some sepoys who were there before them. Tha Europeans and mhee sepoys seeing this, followed their example and so scarce looked back till they got to the factory; a party of Marcott's sepoys who belonged to the detachment sent to re- force th city arrived with some guns soon after and began to fire on the factory house. Thus ended this unhappy affair and not without great loss and effusion of blood. The enemy must have suffered much but can g ve no particulars. Our loss is as follows —

Killed—Captain Perry Lieutenants Down a [illegible] and about eight Europeans

Wounded—Captains [illegible] Wilson, Lieutenant Perry, 10 Europea s and 100 sepoys.

Missed and deserted, but mostly the latter said I believe loaded w th plunder one thousand sepoys with officers in proportion. Lost two field pieces which could not be brought off. Our hole force consisted of 150 Europea s, rank and file 40 artillery 2,200 sepoys.

At six in the evening the guard for the gardens was called in, and arrived soon after. After this disaster the council was called, in which the Captains were desired to attend that they might consult of what was best to be done a cor present circumstances. Various were the opinions on this occasion. First the factory being but small and badly provided with provisions and firewood for s 200 sepoys and 200 Europeans besides we must have expected to have been entirely shut up with the fresh troops which would have come from Monghee, therefore to defend it was thought to no purpose. Second, to take boats and proceed by water to Calcutta, but in all accounts less than a hundred men drove our whole army out, and thi sad misfortune was entirely owi g to the plundering of our seapoys and soldiers, which turned the r courage into a panic, and everyone of them thought of noth ng but scoff ng off with what they got. By 3 most of the scattered army returned into the Factory. Our army consisted as follows:—

Europeans, half ra k and file	47		
Art llery d tto	19		
	66	...	198
Besides officers			
Seapoys			500
	Total		2,698
Returned from the attack			
Europeans half ra k and file	4		
Art llery d tto	14		
	56		168
S apoys		...	1 200
	Total		1 368
Europeans killed, wounded, and missing			35
Art llery killed wounded, and missing			6
Seapoys wounded			100
Do. killed			150
	Total	...	291

Officers Killed.

Capta n Parry	Lieutenant McDonall.
Lieutenant Downey	Artill y Lieut. Ried.

walls and drove the enemy from them, posting h s own guards as he went and came to the east gate. By the time both our division had got into the city Mr ra M adaly Cawn the Governor, had I telligence of t and collected a body of horse and gunmen, and marching down the main street he met Capta n Carsta re w th Captain Turner's sepoys Europeans and guns. Ha lined the streets, and filed the lanes, a d the tops of the houses of both sides. Capta n Parry and Lieuteo a t M Dowall were both killed Captains Jocher and Wilson wa s wounded, 30 Europeans killed and wonded with a number of sepoys. Hat our grape and ma hetry were so warm that they retired and M adaly Cawn, with the rest of tha Cammanders went out by the east gate of the city and took tha road towards Fatwa. Our troops marched to the east gate after them and there met Capta n Tabby who had just arrived having come round the walls. The a st gate was immed ately abut the bridge leading nto it broka down and tha sepoys went along the killa walls to tha ri ra de, and took possession of the only gata remaining in the hands of the enemy called the water gate. After this, sever l mess ges passed between Captain Carstairs and Mr. Ellis, a d everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Carstairs came to the factory w th several of tha officers. At ten we heard fir ng in tha killa a d the gentlemen went to the fort, the firing continued and ncreased. One Lal S ogh a jemadar of foot, who had his women in a house n tha k lla, did ant choose to leave tham, so retired into his house w th thirty men a d remained quiet till some of our sepoys began to plunder h s houses ha than in defiance of his women drove them out; there were l kewise about 200 men who secreted themselves in a large house near the k lla, called Chabalsatan. Lal Singh after hav ng driven the sepoys from his house, fired on the sentries that were posted on the walls of tha killa near his house, and sent a message to M dialy Cawn, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of the Fatwa bridge, to drive the English out

Note the passage above is the Calcutta text that below Mr Beveridge's text.

Officers Wounded

Captain Wilson | Captain Vergar.
Lieutenant Parry

The great deficiency in the Sepoys is owing to their desertion with their plunder. After this melancholy accident everybody was greatly nonplussed what was the most prudent step to be taken, (as in such case) numbers of schemes were proposed, and none could determine what was the most advisable, at last it was fixed to proceed to Sujid Dawla's province, but a great difficulty arose in the procuring of boats. At last with much trouble there were collected as many as we thought would do, and agreed to sett off the next morning

of the city. Mindraly Cawn met at Patwa with Alum Cawn, too horse, 20 camels loaded with fine arrows sent from Monghcer for his garrison, just at the time of his receiving Lal Singh's message. We immediately returned, and by the way picked about 1,000 horse and foot that were flying from the city. At the same time that Lal Singh sent to Mindraly Cawn, he sent likewise to the Chahalsitun, and told those men men that were there that he had still defended that part of the *killa* and desired their assistance. About fifty of them came to him by a small passage from the Chahalsetoon to the *killa*, and there they defended themselves till near 12 o'clock, when Mindraly Cawn arrived. About this time our soldiers were employed in plundering the town and little order or obedience to their officers was observed, nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mindraly Cawn met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the city. As our people went along, they met with enemies every where. the sepoys who had concealed themselves in the different houses, upon hearing of the Nabob's return, sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that, at about 3 o'clock they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieutenant Reed of the Artillery, Lieutenant Downie of the sepoys and Lieutenant Parry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the sepoys and the Europeans, but to no purpose, it was generally imagined that great part of the sepoys were gone off with the plunder they had got, and that night, at a muster, there were only about 170 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys to be found. The confusion of such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place at the Factory must be easily imagined and that evening about sunset the city was strongly enforced by Mirceed with 1,500 sepoys and two guns and some horse, who that night began to play us with a battery from the walls and commanding of the Factory from the west gate. Messrs Greentree and Pickering were called in from the Cantonments, where they had been left with 200 new sepoys

J ne 26th.—Hi ing got s ma y boats as we could and sent them up to the Pass, we prepared e ery-th ng for evacuat g the Factory l the centre e ery tr ck and access t fi a of both great g ns and musketry w s k pt on both s des re which we lost a European and thre or four sepoys. About ten at ght we got our sick Europeans and treasure—bout one lakh—embarked. Soon after Capta a T bby's sepoys ere ord red to m rch out to the sand in the north of the F ench factory and there wait for the Europe as. M Ell w th com pa y of e poys from th t body attended by some c lians. m de the be t of thei w y t the boats. Captai Car taire, w th the E mpeans, and Tabbey's se poys hrpt up a br th fi a t ll near 12 a clock, and everyth g being q ta ready spiked the g ns, etc., and marched out nd so proceeded to the boats without the least molestation.

June 26th.—Th morn g a very bri k cannonade w kept p by both us and the city th y ha g mounted som 6-pounders of ours wh ch fell to th r hand We had two or three k lled. Th whole day a consta t fire was continued, every th g was got read es for our depart re by en g th t could be done r confused tu tion they found it a practicable to carry any guns the reason I don't know, but we carried an how tet but no bells the reason of that I do t know t both of which we e per mented afterwards, would have been f the utmost consequence to us. Our treasure amounted to pretty near a lakh; that was sh pped off but by some m s-manag ment our boat that part of t wa put a a oh as he was sett ng off and th d ficulty ss ed the other w s too deep and run ng aground which obliged them to throw some f t overboard, so that there was deficient 20,000 Rupees the dri t a ght. We carr ed only 25 barrels ammun t n which we found not to be half efficient for the work e met w th afterwards. About 9 o'clock Captain Tabby was sent out w th his battalion to draw up on the sand opposite the French factory to cover our retreat. Afterwards Mr Ell's with some of the cl lans and your humble servant came off and got a company of T bby's sepoys, and marched t fi nd the boats, wh ch was about four or five *cossas*, and to our great mort fica t on did not find them at the place we ma ned them to have been. The E ropeans left the Factory about ele en, and then our whole shattered army proceeded, and fort nately fell a with us hile we was in our d lemma about the boats.

June 26th.—In the morn ng the fire from the city ncreased, and the confusion w th us was greater Ea ly the morn ng Mr Ellis se t for me and o de ed me to go over to the sand oppos te to the F ctory w th so epoys and collect all the boat I could get The fire was ery warm both from the Factory and the city all that day About ta o'clock I was ordered to proceed w th what bo t I had collected to Phalera Ghat about 3 *cos* up the river od there to remain for furth r rders At three a the afternoon I was rdered to get the boats ready for transporti g the troops o er to the S rk Sans cou try as soon as pos ble At ten at night they arrived, in number about 700 Europe as and 1 000 sepoys w th a how trer On troops on leaving the Factory set fire t the guns and all the large betel nt bungalows near the Factory to hinder the enemy's approach, and an officer w th 30 Europes a ama ed a the Fact ry half an hour after the ma n body marched off t bring up the rear wi h the baggage It t the fire from the city was so warm th t the coolies and lascars threw most part of the ammun tion down and deserted, so that o ly seven barrels of musket ammun t on were saved and the sepoys and Europeans had only 12 rounds a man

June 27th.—About two, we began to cross as quick as pos ble and without confusion but before one-third were over it beg n to blow d re a so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime, those that had crossed were alarmed by a body of horse coming to attack them They beat to arms got the howitzers ready and advanced 200 or 300 yards to be clear off the village, and so wa ted for them, but they thought proper t keep at a distance. About ten, the eather turned fair and wind moderate, so that on the afternoon every-

June 27th.—We all proceeded up the river and at about three found the boats, a d immediately began to embark, and was not complet t ll ten We halted at a village on the opposite side and rested t ll five, and marched t ver and halted on the road for the remainder of the ght. Most of the boats proceeded up the river with the wounded Europeans, Lady Hope, Howett Doctors Fullarton and Anderson, *cum multis aliis*

June 27th.—About daylight n the morning the troops got all to the other side of the river to halt there for Mr Lushington, who had embarked from the Factory with the Company's treasure in small packages. He arrived at 10 o'clock with only the loss of one boat, which was sunk by the enemy's shot at the Factory ghat. A little before sunset we marched from Phalera t Ra pati, being four *cossas*, where the army got no provisions, but a little rice the country people being afraid to supply us on account

of the Phousdars (Ram Nidi) being in arms to oppose us Mr Ellis ordered me to take charge of the treasure with all the boats, and allotted for their guard one company of sepoys, the boat had a fine wind and sailed all night

June 25th—At daybreak we marched about one [illegible], and reached a village, where we halted and refreshed till [illegible] We found in the Phousdar's house a tent and a carmel, which we used the liberty to carry along with us and some carriage bullocks We marched about five [illegible] and found our boats at this village and halted for the night

June 26th—At half past two this morning we marched and our boats proceeded up We reached Chippera about 8 A few of us stopped at our factory house and found about three dozen of different liquors, which was a most agreeable acquisition, as we had not brought a drop along with us [illegible] found also some turkeys and other poultry We proceeded on about a [illegible] further, and halted at a [illegible], and rent out and got some bullocks and rice for our people We were alarmed and under arms two or three different times that a party of horse was near us We understood that the Phousdar one Ramneedee had collected about 1,000 troops and 200 horse We marched at 4, and halted at a [illegible] about four [illegible] from hence Captain Turner, who had the rear guard, informed us that just as he left the [illegible], a party of the enemy's horse took [illegible] of [illegible] which we at keep a good look [illegible] We had a skirmish with our boats [illegible] the enemy from [illegible] and they had taken two of their small boats, indeed, two sepoys that

June 25th—The boats were fired on from the Bhojpur side of the country by Shimroo, who was then preparing to cross the river to attack us No news of the troops till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at Chirand where the boats lay for them, they had rested the night of the 27th at Raipati, being four *coss* from Phalera, and from Raipati to Chirand were five

June 29th—The army proceeded to Ajrabganj, they were discontented for want of provisions the day before this being a village of the Company's they got some rice, the boats were moored before the company marched, reinforced by Lieutenant Armstrong with another company of sepoys We had heard that Nidiram was coming to fight with us with 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot

were wounded in the fray came to us, which made us very uneasy about them as they had both our treasure and our ammunition but notwithstanding l g we did not endeavour to j in them th evening which proved afterwards very unfortunate.

June 30th.—We had no alarm all night we marched at 3 it scarcely could find anybody to be our guide as our chief A c was and servants had mostly left us on tent ou w to get at o boats We crossed a *nulla* which was betwi t e and the r e Dow n and marched betwi t them About 7 o clock we spy'd about *coss* ahead a stand of red colou s, wh ch we took to be some honkee but pon om ag ne re wa found there we a hoot 50 men w th them. Immediately Capta n T bby's battalion stretched to the right to get betw n them and the *nulla* but they took to th *nulla*, nd most of them w re drow d t o or three we took prisoners but co ld l rn a th ag from them: ffe a we proposed halt g t ll we brought up our rear as we were w th a *coss* of our t nded emba kation; but presently we heard a fir g in the rear and upon e am i g we found the enemy ad ance g Immediately the rear got up, and we beat to rma and marched back to meet the enemy t they appeared to be about 2 000 and 300 horse. Our men seemed in good spirits and marched on very eagerly a d on the first onset the enemy were broke and took to their heels. We pursued them about a *coss* d beyond two small *Jungles* the way to dislodge them in case y were there they took to the *Jungle* and we made a halt. We reckoned that we killed about 200. Dur g our stay w had intelligence from the boats th t the current was so strong that they could not track up to the place late dedi so t was agreed they should come d wn t the end of the isla d. It d vides the river Dowie here into two branches, wh ch was almost opposite to us accord gly that ad ce was sent them. About 2 fo the aft noon the enemy from the *Jungle* beg n to fire pon a party of our sepoys that was a small *Jungle* nigh them w th a two-pou der but we im gined t was coveri g their retreat but, at about three w were undeceived for they began to draw out of

June 29th.—Got under way but made a bad hand of it, it's strong in this river hich obliged us to put to the other shore hen we discovered with a a m te of on fou stands of colours a d some hor e which bl ged us t put into the st eam, and, g tt ng foul of another boat broke our rudder We were taken into tow by two guard boats, wh h w h g eat labour brought a to th ground we left a t e morn g Here we patched p mu dd as well as we could and wer g eatly s ried in t by Mr. Place who came in the p ovince f r that purpose. We observed several s ll ges on fire bout a *coss* from us, and heard of ne Somers, w th four or fi e compan es of se poys d th ee four gun hs ng crossed over hereabouts a order to join Ramandy the l houdar of the country who has got together about 3,000 horse and foot in order to oppose us We tracked up to the fleet with g e l d ager e d d ficulty for we had nearly overset two or three t mes. When we joined them, had the agreeable news of our hae ng defeated Ramandy that morn ng nd k lled about 200 of his people About even g had an account of Somers's ha ng jo ned him and th e ha ng encamped w thin a *coss* of ou troops. The pl ce we now lay at is an island opposite the pper end of hich our people are now encamped, b t the str am is too strong for us to be abl t get round to them. Therefore has ng l formed Mr Ellis of t we are ordered to proceed to the lower ad in the morn g when they w ll mar h down to us. About 400 men horse and foot are on the opposite shore attend ng our motions, but they have only one boat.

June 30th.—We marched from Ajaibgunj to Manpure five *coss*. The boats came up within a *coss* of the camp into the Dakwa river but it was with great d fficulty we belng obliged to track. Nidiram came and was defeated with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men k lled. Th a day a boat that f ll a the rear was taken a havildar and eight sepoys was in it three of them were killed the rest joined, but without their arms. Nidiram went up arda Chopra, a few *coss* where he met Shimroo with three battalions of sepoys and e ght pieces of canno and a large body of horse sent from Patna after us. Shimroo reade Nid ram retorn but we had no intell ge ce of them our *harcarrahs* had all deserted, a d none of the country people would come near us.

the *tyke*, and began a pretty brisk cannonade, that we were obliged to call in the party of sepoys that was with them, and presently they began to fire from the opposite side of the *nullah*, and a stand of Armenian colours was sett up there, which made us understand that they had been joined by one Shamro (an Armenian) who commanded in the Hedapoore country. We got under arms, and waited to see whether they would advance, but they kept their ground and continued their cannonade most of the afternoon. In the evening Mr Ellis, etc., with the principal officers held a council of war to see what the most prudent step to be taken, the purport of which I understood to be, that we ought to be upon the defensive, as our principal design was to cover our boats, and that it would be time enough to fight when we had them with us, accordingly it was resolved to keep our ground all night and march at two in the morning to join our boats and embark.

July 1st—At two we marched, stretching down the side of the river till we came to the end of the island, and halted. At break of day, we saw some of our boats coming round the island. It was agreed to embark the sepoy women and baggage first to the island. About six we spy'd the enemy marching out of the *tyke*, making their front towards us (the *nullah* was then betwixt us and them). Our embarkation began about seven, and to our great surprise found numbers of sepoys wanted to go off with the baggage, and with great difficulty could restrain them; presently the enemy began to cannonade, and kept up a very brisk one with at least five or six pieces of cannon, but did no mischief the first two hours. We got our howitt ashore, which was in one of the boats, and about thirty rounds of grape. Our resolution was to keep our ground on the bank of the river till evening, and if they advanced then to give them a brisk attack, as we had not ammunition to risk two attacks. About ten, our Chief thought he was of opinion on the side of the river that the cannonade was worst, only he set off for the island with Captain Coxal about an hour before him. Captain Coxal of the cavalry soon followed

July 1st—The army came to the banks of the Dahwa, across from where they lay at Manpore; the Dahwa formed three streams at this place, our boats got into the middle one, and could not pass through for want of water; they were half a mile from the army and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met; the army likewise moved this morning and in marching off, the picket of 100 sepoys lost their way and had a warm scuffle with part of Shumroo's guards. Only the Subahdar and 35 sepoys with the colours got to us. About 8 o'clock we were surrounded by Shumroo with three battalions of sepoys, eight pieces of cannons, a body of about 10,000 horse and foot, Sudiram included. Two of Shumroo's battalions had Europe arms, and one country matchlocks. On their approach orders were sent for the 200 sepoys (that had been left to guard the boats) to join us. We got the howitzer landed and prepared to receive them; they came within 800 yards and began to cannonade us. There was a *nullah* about 500 yards in our part, but little water in it and a small bank in front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclinable to attack us, but kept a brisk fire from their artillery and jingalls. About 10 o'clock, it

es ma y wounded. Mr Ell s had rato ed, if pos b e, t attack the a emy t the aven g a l so t cross to the l d, and thence to the [illegible] side, wha a e had not abo a o r to march out of the Pro sce. In the evenin g t was thought by Captain Tabby who commanded and most of the other offi a, th t it would be ery impractic ble to t ck the enemy o th present d position, more especial y s they fou d they had lost one th rd of th ir seapoys, so that the r present force could nm a ered $\frac{2m}{3}$ sepoys, w h tha Europe s, which were bout 150, ncluding the tillery Wh le they w e d l ber u g on the matter th y were l med by the enemy being re motion and ad nc on them We be t The party of the emy or the t ight marched o d joined the main body who aden a l and kept firing from at the art ll ry when they came w th o a proper d t nce T rne battalion g e their fi a (reg l rly but we co ld not observe e y reg lar fire) from the r ght, only a u ers l popping Som few E ropean Pitionary fired, a d the on a g po com g mong t them they ru to the ght about, which threw every th g to the utmost confusion, and everybody sought their safety in d ght. Some swam to the island and brought s the mel ncholy news. The boat people were terrified by the sombere who came pressing on them and put off to a small d stance hav g en board Capta e Carets re, Capt o W lson, Dr C mpbell and myself, E go Arm trong and McK y wh has wam to the island to come off to us with two sold ers, and some five r s s gentlemen s serv ots and three or four se povr s e women, wa ch ldren I th s conf ion we observed many boats going off and knew not what to do f r the be t. To scape wa impos bl therefore we resolved s we were already suffi ciently full of people to proceed down I stea, f possible, o d so to surrender ourselves prisoners to the N bab. Accord gly we put off, and on pa s g the jungle, wh h was o the rear of our army we a hailed and fi ed s two or three t mes, but could neith h of go g to the shore, alta the sounds would certainly ha sunk the boat. Wa re ed down as softly as poss b e to order to avoid the Chief. About eleven we had the disagreeable news I poor Carsta re be ng mortally wounded; he was soon afterwa ds bro ght over and upon dress ng h m, I foun d the wound to be mo tal he was brought aboard Capta W lson s h dgeroo d begg d of me th t I would not lea e h m The enemy kept ad ancing slowly toward s, ha p g p t the same t me a brisk ca onade wou ded o f w of ou people. We mattered about h ndred se poys p st the ilandand seat over to th m, a l ma ned on our ground. About o the evening the en my had come cross the *nullah* alm t within rand m shot, and, about a hou afterwards, came to ng ge our left w eg which w composed of Capta n Turner's battalion nd th y ga them a ery warm reception, wh ch gave us a gre t pecuation that so soon as they eng ged our Europea s they would soon be broke but we were g eatly alarmed to find th t there was regular fire afterwards, a d *presently were informed* by some officers and Europeans that warm over that we were ent rely routed. Capta e W lso and ut that were n the budgro thought it prudent to haul off from the sh re as it was impos ble to keep the seapoys a d rab le from fill eg the boat, which we accord gly did, ed fi rwards thought we could be of no f rth r service wherefore we resolved to proceed dowe the river d del e ou el as p, as we had got aboard as ma y people as our boat could well carry and immed ately ret out havi g board eight Europea s a number of seapoy wom n and se poys met w th no interruption all light but very d smal thoughts.

was determined that we should attack them; and Mr Ellis, being much fatigued and somewhat out of order came down to the boats and ordered some liquor to be sent up to the men A little after th s, Captain Carsta re was mortally wou ded with a j ajall ball, and the comm nd d l ed on Captain Tabby Our people were not allowed to fire on account of the great sea city of ammu tion and the enemy hag n to a me ea r end ears but very slowly At three in the afternoon e company of th t sepoys came dowe to the brinke of the *nullah* and lay b h nd them and k pt e warm fire of musk t y o they all eftar this moved down by degre s and e ed to stop the enemy e end fire and then moved again Our troops were much fat gued for want f pro isions, atc a d being exposed to e warm fi e all day About half an hour after sunset the fir g increased and they began to ply us with musketry crossed the *nullah* and att cked s on all sides. About 8 o'clock at night, the Europeans broke and fled; the sepoys stood the r ground ka p g a warm fire upon the enemy t ll ll the r emm tion was e pended when they l kewise gave way Lieutenants Pickering a d Crofts, both of the sepoys were killed and the rest of the gentlemen that were o the field were taken a ther that night or ext morni g The boat where Mr Ell s w s, f d eg the fi e cease and some of the officers, that could swim, crossed the branch of the river (for the boats lay on an island) opposite to where the ctine was pn hed off and got into the rive Masers. Ell s Ilow it and Sm th with Captain Joech r thought prope to write to Nidi am to send some of his people to conduct them to P tna to Mledialy Cawn, and it was I haw se determined that Mr Ell s should write to Mledialy Cawn desiring that he should s nd orders for conduct g him and the gentlemen saf there About ten at n ght, I was sent with a letter to Bled aly Cawn in a small *dingre*,

July 2nd—Before break of day, we were at a [illegible] whether we should not go ashore before daylight, as we thought there was a greater probability of meeting the people more humane some distance from the river, but a boy of Captain Turner's said that we had best proceed down the river as far as we could, and if we met with any inconvenience we had only to say we were going to the Nabob, which advice we thought very proper and accordingly [illegible] We met no [illegible] about 7 o'clock, when a [illegible] there [illegible] and acquainting them we were going to the Nabob, they [illegible] Abouteight [illegible] of people going up the river [illegible] and fired [illegible] at us, [illegible] proceeded on and they left us, we then [illegible] to Hajipore, and delivered our [illegible] to the [illegible] of Mr

July 3rd—And got down to Patna about twelve next morning the 3rd July I sent immediately to the Nabob to let him know what I was come for, he sent for me, and used me very well, sending an order to Nidiram to conduct the gentlemen safe to him, but before that could arrive they were all taken by Shumroo that morning. About ten I was kept close prisoner in the killa, and at night the Naib came and desired me to write a chit to some gentlemen that were come in a *budgero* to Hajipore to come to him, as they might be [illegible] by the country people, which I did They came two days after and were immediately sent to Monghee, but were sent back again and kept in the Chabaluum They had buried Captain Carstairs who died of his wounds in his *budgero*. These gentlemen were Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Armstrong, Ensign Mackay, Mr

Hadg pore nd to render ourselves, as we [illegible] treatment there than from the people of Patna who were highly incensed. Besides Phousdar being a brother of Meer Abdoolla, might one or better on the serve t We put about. [About noon, we arrived at Hadg pore, and were very kindly received by the Phousdar's son.]

Abdolla's), though the populace of Patna might be too much *irritated* to be, and not so safe for us to accordingly we arrived at Hadg poor near About twelve we sent a servant to horn to the Phousdar to acquaint him we were come to delivers ourselves p t he soon returned with some of the principal people, and acquainted that the Phousdar was then at Patna, but he had a son who acted in his absence. We were conducted very civilly by these people to him and he received a very kindly after taking our leave, sent us refreshment. Carnia continues to grow worse every hour

A derson Surgeon and Mr Peter Campbell and two soldiers.

Sunday, July 2nd.—Poor Carnia died on shore in small hou e that had been provided for him. We had a coffin made and had him buried as decently as circumstances would allow. The same day had a *chit* from Doctor Fullarton, who had ed s to come over to Patna, told us we would meet with a gentle usage from the Sebah.

July 3rd.—The Phousdar arrived from Patna le t night sent for Capt ra Wilson conducted us to his house himself kindly sent a standing cot for Capta Carnia, and appointed a house for him be ng ashore, as his wounds began to mortify and very offensive to s e tha hour prevailed upon him to go ashore about 12 at 3 he died. We applied for coffin and *bearers* to take a grave t they were soon fi nished and we interred the corpse about 6, in the most decent manner we could. This evening we received a *chitt* from Fullerton, who had delivered himself up to the Nabob at Patna he acquainted that he was most gentlemanly treated, and advised us to come over We was then informed by the Phousdar that there was an order for going to Patna, which was agreeable to us.

Monday, July 4th.—Had our effects taken account of, and were put in use t to Pat a ne t day. Our treatment here very easy his orders not allow us from the Phousdar but find our orders and his civility is very troublesome for *Patna*, which we find best to submit *sly* Heard from the Phousdar that our army had marched, that Mr Amyatt had gone down, but Major Hay and another gentleman still continued at Monghear

July 4th.—This morning we were in great expectations of the Phousdar's coming to carry us to Patna but we heard nothing of him till about 3, when his son arrived to take an inventory of all our *cheshes* We were a little uneasy to find we did not go to Patna this evening but we were assured that he would be with us for his morning to carry us over

Tuesday, July 5th.—Our Phousdar with our guard accompanied us over to Patna. We landed at the A *lla*, and we brought to the Durbar where we were kindly received by Ally Merda Cawn, and had sherbets brought in a plenty after greeting as *betel* We were shewn to our apartment under the care of Mirza Caleel, a ceas

July 5th.—At 8, the Phousdar came down and sat off with us. We arrived about two opposite to our factory when we were hailed by the seapoys to bring to there the Phousdar asked us whether we choosed to go (Mr Scott an Armenian, commanded them), but we insisted on going to the Nabob; it seems they are obliged to carry one to the highest

in command if we choose it the Phousdar left it to our choice. Accordingly, we proceeded, and soon after our arrival, were brought up from the boats, guarded by a party of seapoys, to the Durbar in the *Killa* was very gently received by the Governor Upon breaking up of the Durbar, had a very good dinner served us up, presently afterwards was shown to our apartments, which were under the care of a near relation of the Governor, who entertained us in the most obliging, complaisant manner imaginable, the most minute necessary that we might want he did not forgett In the evening he invited us to his own apartment, and treated us with very good arrack and [illegible] Just before supper, we were informed that an order was arrived for our setting out for Monghyr, and we was ordered to get ourselves in readiness to set off directly, which gave us great uneasiness, as we were very [illegible] ed, but by the intercession of our friend who kept us, it was put off till the morning.

Jany — We [illegible] our [illegible] were [illegible] the boats, and as we set off about 7 in our *Budgerooms* two guard boats with 50 men were conducted to the water side by our friend. At first setting off, our guard seemed as if they would be very troublesome by lashing their boats on each side of our *budgeroo* and fastening the windows the Governor sent us a dressed kid, bread, etc. for our voyage We reached this evening at Barr

Jany — [illegible] of day Our guard was more complaisant than before [illegible] enter into [illegible] was [illegible] dall, and ghee, which they say makes a very good [illegible] We reached this evening Nabob's [illegible] our guard [illegible] and shut our windows.

Jany — Mr Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were brought to Patna I petitioned the Nabob to be sent to them, or be suffered to see them both of which were refused

Frid J y 24—C st Jone s I proceeded t Mu gher h h m h s o bad ppe nc from the river where you ha a f ont iew of the pal ce It K t Henry has fa ly bu it there w th e breast oth before it for 30 ga s It be ne to ra e a l tle w bout 12, by wh ch meaes we drove pa t t, and were bl ged to track op about a m le, and et g arr ed t the gate fo ta the lower part of the Fort. O r *Arzeeah* we t on shore w th the letter but had a body came to s but a r scal of a German ho had bace formerly a our service; he pretended to haea come from the Nabob to know our mber names, and nat on

Saturday, July 9th.—As nobody has come to-day to inqu whether we wa t victuals, nor even our own *Arzeeah* ret med, t s a matte of s prita to our guards a we l as ourselves. We send to the bar for what we want in the eat g way havi g a money ta the amount of 800 rupees

S nday J ly 10th—A erra t of Mr Place's brought t ac t g g as ac account of how Moiara Joh t ore ad Ha n, w th two Europeans more belonging to the boats w th m, be g close prison s. And ha g only ¼ a s r of coarse rice per day each f r th r bu t ce; that th y were a want of some clothes, which they beg os to send if we could sp re They mentioned also their hav ag 10 rupees each given them two days befor to buy meat, etc. They had surrendered themsel es at Patna to Mr M rcott, who fin l ag them merc sats, gave th m les e to go down f they could, b t they fo d t impo ble to pass the *chokre* boats at Monghee which re placed on both sides of the river pretty close beside every sand le the m ddle of the r er has one or two; all of them hs e one or t o cannons. As the erra t ho brought the ch t had a sepoy w th him, and our guard would se rce permit h m to come back into the boat we f und it mpossible to send them clothes. We therefore put up 23 rupees, and wrote a ch t giv g an accou t of our situation, etc., but they kept so good a look-out, th t we could find no opportunity of end ag it. Three Arzeeas came to us who ga a us news of our army being

J ly 8th—Sett off ea ly as aru l got re ght of Mu gheer about to, abreast of the Fort t ts but a squall com g off sett us past r sa that we could not t ach op agaio t ll 5; was in ex pectation of some officer to come and exam ne us, but to our surprise nobody enquired after us, but a dirty scoundrel of a German, a deserter from us, h ch curiosity had induced him to come and see who we were this even g my servant (named N mmo) ran away with Rupees 30 of mine some combs, etc.

July 9th.—All this day to our great surprise, we heard nothing from the Nabob, nor any of his officers, which we could not comprehend the reason of. We furnished ourselves with provi sions etc from the bazar

July 10th.—Still lying in our *budgero* In the afternoon our boy from the bazar acquaints us that the *Arzeeah* told h m that he had got the Nabob's perwanneah f r our returning t Patna in the even g it was confirmed.

July 8th.—M Ellis w th the rest of the gentlemen were se t to Monghee nd there confi ed the e wa 45 000 of the Compa y's cash on board the *b dge* a wbee Mr Ell s was taken and some plate which was g ven to h m. but in the care of some of the Nabob's people to bu given h m wh a he wanted it; some time it remained with Khwaj Petrus, afterwards w th Mledicly Cawn.

y 11th—This morning no appearance of our
ett g off, which surpr sed us. In the afternoon
e rece ved a chit from Harris and Johnstone
equ ring us that they were confined in the
ost in a d rt, house, and very indifferently
ated allowed half a seer of rice per man a
ay. We endeavoured to write them an answer,
nd sent them some money, but could not find
e messenger afterwards. About 7 the *kar rain*
rives with nine or six *dandies* or rather cooleys,
carry us up but our Jamadar sent one of his
eople and pressed about a dozen of tolerable
ne.

y 12th—Upon getting up this morning, I was
eatly alarmed with a violent pain in my instep
f my foot, could attribute no cause for it, un
ess it was Dr. Anderson's head, who lay just
n my feet, as it is pretty heavy, it was
generally believed that the cause by lying on it
hat to, our *dandies* were all on board, and we
ut off, got up by evening about six *cos*, the
ain of my instep increased to a violent degree,
nd before evening was fully satisfied that it was
not owing to Dr. Anderson's head but rather
appeared to be a touch of gout, which I am very
ory for.

y 13th—We got under way early, reached
the mouth of Rua Nadi by evening the
sent pain on my foot still continues, which pain
past all doubt that it is the gout. spoke to
one of our soldiers, who are marching down,
I have taken serjeant with the Nabob, they
informed us that two and upwards had taken
[illegible] they also informed us that Mr. [illegible] and all
[illegible] were sent down to Monghyr, which
[illegible] that we are sent up again
[illegible] I shall [illegible]

stop for the night about a *coss* below Runaglia on the opposite shore.

Thursday, July 14th.—Not finding water for us with in the island, and the current being too strong without it, we crossed the river again, by which we drove a *coss* back, and had great danger and difficulty in tracking up to Runaglia as the stream was very strong and the banks full in pretty frequent. In passing the village, we observed three fine elephants with about 2,000 horse and foot crossing in boats on their way to Monghyer. In the afternoon, being with a large wind, we had a fair wind and smooth water which ran within 2 *coss* of Derri pur where we were brought to for the night.

Friday July 15th.—We proceeded up tracking as there was little wind. At 11 o'clock we stopped at Dermapur to dress some victuals; in the meantime three companies of seapoys, mostly our own who had left service arrived here on their way down. At one o'clock, we put off with a pretty breeze and at sunset reached Mohura, about 2 *coss* below Ponaerac.

Saturday, July 16th.—Early we got and away with a fair wind, but we passed Ponaerac, at 10 we topped at Bar to dress victuals. Here were a large body of horse and seapoys encamped with most of our tents, etc., at their barge. The route is for Monghyer. At 2 we put off and went a *coss* further.

Sunday July 17th.—We set out early with a brisk wind, which continuing all day brought us within a mile of Jaffier Khan's garden at sunset.

Monday, July 18th.—Got under way at 5 and arrived at the Killa at about 9, when, after waiting two hours we were ordered to the Dawan, as the Nabob was not at home, who ordered dinner for us. Here we remained pestered with flies and heat till about 8 o'clock, when we were sent for by the Nabob, who, as before, received us very kindly ordered chairs for us to sit on, gave a *Sanda* to Captain Wilson, and told us not to be uneasy for we might look on ourselves as

July 19th.—Nothing remarkable to-day; we advanced about 5 *coss* numbers of the Nabob's sepoys and troops on the road going down also several of ours taken prisoners.

July 20th.—Got a order way early; advanced by evening as far as Bloor within 2 *coss* of Monghyer; my foot a good deal sore; nothing remarkable a scarcity of provisions.

July 21st.—Got order way as usual; advanced by evening as far as Bar. We feasted to day on rice, dall and ghee.

July 22nd.—Nothing remarkable all this day had a fine breeze; advanced by evening with a *coss* of Jaffier Khan's garden.

July 23rd.—Arrived at Patna by 10 soon afterwards Captain Wilson was sent for ashore. About 12, we were all sent for; understood that the Governor was at the west gate. We were received by the Dawan; were kept in a sort of Durbar place, immensely close and hot; bad dinner brought us. The Governor did not come till about 6 an hour afterwards he sent for us, received us very politely and made us understand we should have every indulgence in his power. He

July 16th.—I was sent down to Monghyer and there confined separately from the rest of the gentlemen. As I afterwards understood they were all well used, though strictly confined. We had victuals sent us by the Nabob regularly once a day.

[illegible] that we should have a more airy and [illegible] apartment than what we were in at present and provided us with the Dewan's bun[illegible] for the night, which was very cool and pleasant he at the same time acquainted us he learned the reason of our being sent up here [illegible] was owing to the letter he wrote to the Nabob wherein he mentioned to him if he had [illegible] conveniency at Monghear, he begged he would [illegible] us to him

July 19th – Early in the morning we were brought down from the hospital to our old apartment, for as we were in hourly expectation of our being removed to a proper place allotted to us we thought nothing of it About 10, in one end of the room where we was, a fire was lighted, which had almost suffocated us with heat and smoke it was to dress the Dewan's victuals, as he is a Gentoo he can't dress in any of the Moorman's cook rooms Upon our complaining, they assured us it should be done no more We passed this day very disagreeably, no order for leaving our chains from the *Jailore*, nor any other, the occasion as we understood to be the Dewan's being affronted at our lying in his tents last night We got a few bottles of wine from the Dutch Factory, but our guard understanding it, insisted upon seizing them, which they did accordingly to the great mortification of some of our messmates We found we should have no admittance to the Governor this night and resolved to bear everything patiently

July 20th – We passed a very disagreeable night from the extreme heat, but we comforted ourselves that we the Hottentot room passed the day [illegible], but to our surprise no order for our [illegible] could disturb the [illegible], resolved to bear everything with patience till we can see the Governor In the evening our Jailor told us we might lay down in the yard for it was too

Thursday July 21st.—Nothing remarkable

Friday July 22nd.—In the afternoon, about 4 we were on a sudden removed from our quarters, leaving two soldiers. We were led I ta the city, and on our way met two Europeans with a guard who told us there were 15 of them come up from Morghier. We were led through several windings and by ways to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, and, after passing two compounds, we came to a third where we observed, some prisoners lying round, which gave us but indifferent idea of the place, more especially as the apartment we were put to was quite close damp, and hung with cobwebs. [Some mats were in the part close to] the door which were [secured and] tied down, so that but little light and air we had was from the door. Here, to all appearances, we had reason to expect but indifferent treatment, but we had not been here an hour before we began to be somewhat better reconciled to it, for all our things were sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for state prisoners, and several people of some consequence had been here since Ramnaram's misfortunes. There is about 100 persons as a guard to this prison, who allow us to walk all the length of the square, so that we are here more retired and have more liberty.

hot; we choosed the verando if he would move his guard from hence, which was done. We had a far more agreeable night than the former; our guard consisted of a Jemidar, about 30 gunmen and two seapoys with sword and bayonet.

July 23rd.—We passed the last night more comfortable than the former, it was tolerable cool and not so much pestered with bugs. We now began to expect one of seeing the Governor and were satisfied we should have no removes; got a pack of cards, and amused ourselves with games at whist, much troubled with flies, and the time hangs very heavy. We are to lay in the verando as before; had all our baggage from the *budgerow*, and find that our boys have stolen 138 Rupees, and afraid to deliver them up to justice, upon account of our transaction at the Hadgipore; allowed two of them to go away whom we judge to be guilty.

July 22nd.—Passed the night tolerably well. Food impossible to be allowed any wine except, they kept five bottles of the porter on which we got the first day from the Dutch Factory. About 4 in the afternoon we were acquainted that we were to be removed to other place and immediately orders came for our removal which was very agreeable to us. We all sett out, and were much surprised when they brought us out of the *Hall* through the street, a spectacle to the whole populace about the distance of half a mile loaded as at last in a square where the first objects that presented as were two or three rows, a our situation no greatly light to lay in. We were shown our room which had been a storehouse and cleared out this day for our reception, full of rats and the floor dog or burrowed with fifty of the holes. I retired into it and fixed myself down in one of the corners to be free from the gazing of a new company who were in rows, and found a small window where I could peep through and contemplated upon our sad situation began to wish we were in our old apartments again but at last concluded that everything was for the best (in this best of possible worlds, as Mr Candide observes,) and so comforted ourselves presently

[illegible] arrived, and to our great comfort, [illegible] as they had feared very im- [illegible] and disagreeable. We found this place [illegible] for state prisoners and that there [illegible] Ramparam's family and all [illegible] dependent, which was some relief to find [illegible] companions were no worse sort of people. We had the liberty to walk about in the square [illegible] anybody attending us and find ourselves much more retired than before, as our guard here are posted only stationed at the gates. We were now sensible that the fine speeches the Governor made us were from motives of true Eastern policy.

[illegible]—We had a very agreeable night and [illegible] prison much better than our former apartments, passed the day very [illegible], sent out and purchased victuals for ourselves, sent in the evening to the Aga's to know whether we were to expect [illegible] from hence or not, were given [illegible] that we must provide ourselves in everything we wanted. Have visits from some of our fellow prisoners, who we find to be very genteel men and whose company with us in our present situation.

[illegible]—Had a pleasant night, and find our new [illegible] quite retired and as agreeable as we could expect. Have employed tailors to make us [illegible] Linsam, white etc., had a leg of roast [illegible] and [illegible], etc., for dinner, and a [illegible] of good cool [illegible] to wash it down. We were all [illegible] about with our keeper [illegible] and taking [illegible] five irons, thinking that they [illegible] for our use, as he gave us a small [illegible] the night before in a joke how we should like them, but we soon found they were only [illegible] them to see if they were in good order.

[illegible]—Passed the night as usual, nothing [illegible] today further than that our man [illegible] received [illegible] of Dutch [illegible], which was very acceptable, [illegible] this evening [illegible]

cred t. Find ng the wa t f liquor our boys smuggled a bottle hich gave e a glase each after d n ner and at led t me.

Tuesday J ly 26th.—To-day close and sultry wh h makes the fl ee very troublesome to us. Had a small regru t of two bottles of g o h ch le t o days allow nce. The economy wa ha e established le ta drink twice a day d ner at o e talk a h le in the even ng and sleep at t n. S ppe we he e none. The intervals are filled up with read g gamng and conversation with our fellow prisoners.

J ly 26th.—Noth ng remarkable to-dey

Wednesday, July 27th.—Noth ng extraordinary

July 27th—Passed our time as usual; Nicolo continues to smuggle a l ttle gin successfully

Thursday, July 28th.—Our Jamadar aforementioned the Nabob has ordered e ta send for our provisions to h s cookroom as usual. To-day we heard that Mir Ell e mun hi had got safe to Benares, also that the King and Sh ja Ud la are come down to Allahabad.

July 28th—To-day we were informed by our Jem dar that he had ordere fo as ta send our boys to the Governor for v ctuals; nothing rama kable.

F day J ly 29th.—On send g to-dey f r our victuals the *Cumasmah* a d he had not his master's orders, by hich means we were d sappo nted of our dinner

J ly 29th.—Early one of our boys went to the Governor for breakfast, but was told there were o orders Wa did not provide anything for d nner, expect ng orders w uld be g ven by that time, but so our great d sappo ntment we found our mistake, a d was obl ged to send out to the bazar for whee we could get; d ned about 4; we despatched a letter down to the Governor or Command g Officer

S tu d y 30th July.—To-day wa sent our servants ra the Nabob to req est that wam ght be allowed ta send to the Dutch for a l ttle l quor da ly as custom hed rendered t necessary for our health, also that we m ght have a da ly allowa ce le money rather than his e ctuals, as t was not dressed ta our way both of which he granted, allowing us 4 rupees per day and l berty to bring la two bottles of liquor per day

J ly 30th.—Wa resol ed to send Mir N colo to the Durbar ta the G ernor accord gly he set out w thout our Jemidar and acquainted h m we should be glad he wo ld order us an allowance la mo ey for ct ll ng ourselves, and he gra ted ne rupees 4 pe day; t kew se we demanded leave for coma l q or ha allowed us to purchase and usa two o th ea bottles per day we ave to e gn a da ly receipt for our money Wa had tell gence a few days ago of our army be ng at Catwa, and of having hed an engagement with the troops belong ng to Murzadabad, and had gained a compleat v ctory having killed several of the r princ pal Jemidars

July [illegible]—Very [illegible] rains for these two days. Our former cook has left us, which would have distressed us much, had it not been for Ensign Mickey, who has a thorough knowledge in cookery and has officiated in that office, greatly to our satisfaction for these two days. We have provided ourselves with another cook. Don Nicolo purchased a case of gin from the Dutch Stores Scraper for rupees 50. We propose bringing in two or three bottles at a time according to our allowance, as it comes much cheaper by being bought in quantity, the Great Scraper being a great Jew, he also sold two knives and forks and two cups and saucers for the small price of rupees [illegible]. Don Nicolo, being a great politician, brought us from the Dutch Factory news that might be depended upon, that our main army has not marched from Calcutta, but that was only a party that was at Cutwa, and that they had a second engagement at Plassey with the principal force from Muxadabad, and that the former was only a skirmish with a small party of them; that our party was surrounded by numbers of their troops, and every man put to the sword, disagreeable news enough.

August [illegible]—Disagreeable conjectures about the [illegible] of our affairs in general, and no very favorable ones about our head managers in particular. A particular friend, who favours us with a little intelligence, informed us to day that [illegible] flow went on very prosperously, that [illegible] was [illegible], and that a record en[illegible] had happened near the lower capital, and that we had completely routed the whole force, having killed [illegible] their principal [illegible], and [illegible] everything; this news we [illegible] very good [illegible], which overset[illegible] Don Nicolo entirely. Marcott has [illegible] the capital. We expect that we news of his very soon. His [illegible] keeping [illegible]. On whether [illegible] [illegible] we fetch [illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible] were very [illegible] secretly [illegible]

Coongar Cawa w th all the mb r Phouadars a d Jamedars rallied a. Bought to-d y s bottles of e y good Madei a for th ee rupe s per bottle, w th one of which we reg lled ours l es on ou good news.

Wednesday 3rd August.—Got a table and three cha s for Rs. 15 h, also a large one for Rs y Thus we are pretty well equipped for eat g and drink ng C ngar Cawa with the rema dee of the force, is gone d wn, and H s Excelle ry w th a f w for bodyguard only rema n.

Thursday August 4th.—Noth ng s traord nary but are in daily e pectat ou of a battle below

Friday August 5th.—Noth ng extraord nary but a rumour of a fight at Murzadabad.

Saturday, August 6th.—Mr Roach's boy arrived from Monghee bringing news of Mr Amyatt' he d be ng brought the a some t me ago that Mr Chambers ad some of the Cossimbazar factory are there, also hear that we were thrice repulsed n the attack of the city of Murzadabad but the fourth attack carried everyth g; that the old Nabob is declared. Don Nicolo M. Nicolas our servant brings news of Marcott s being defeated, Somero killed w th many elephants and Jamedars, that Marcott had gone over to us w th t ooo men but I ran g ve no eed t to it.

Sunday August 7th.—Nothing extraordinary

tha day The former news we have confirmed with the add tion that Meer Jaffi be ag forcerta n w th our army and that we am in possession of the C p tal a d that the Governor of It is s nce dead of h r wounds. We also hear that Marcott has stopped at Suttee and can advance no further

August 3rd.—Our news s more and more confirmed and that Coongar Cawa is gett ng out f m Monghee to join Marcott. We da ly e pect of hear g of a decis e stroke be ag made Dr Anderson was a l ttle out af humour to-day and d d not eat his d nner as u ual, ow g to m stake made n describing a house that he and some gentlemen bu lt at Neg—s (that they had bu lt a house without any d mens ous) he in erly related to my countrymen I believe, for he seems to have established a ma im that t is not right to give up a point.

August 4th.—Noth ng mater al to-day save Dr A derson was h ghly offended with me at di er for want g to drink o t of the cup before he had finished what he calls his allowance of g n.

August 5th.—A very fi e day, but furnishes nothing remarkable in the publ c or private way

August 6th.—No news these two or three days which makes us very a lous; this be ng s Saturday we commemorated the even ng w th a couple of bottles of *Iall*

August 7th.—Don Nicolo has p cked up a piece of ntell gence, which we can give little credit to, that our troops have had an engagement with Marcott, the Armenian; that they had gained a complete victory Somero, one of their Com-

[illegible] killed, and that Marcott has joined us with a thousand men, but this is only [illegible]

August 7th—The above news still prevails, but no authority still. To-day the Governor stept in here to see if there was room for some of our prisoners that they were sending up from Monghee he did not speak to us, they are put in an apartment in the Chelsea Town. They were taken at Cossimbuzar, they are 23 in number, all in irons, amongst whom are Mr Bennett, and one Thompson, who was in Mr McGuire's employ.

August 9th—We had a line from Mr Bennett, acquainting us that he was destitute of every necessary, we sent him Rs 20; they confirm the news of Mr Amyatt's being cut off with seven officers. We have a report that His Excellency at the lower capital has been endeavouring to bribe the two Commanders below, and that they have sent him word to send some people of his of consequence and they would treat with him. We are positively informed of Jugat Seath being confined close prisoner at Monghee. Don Nicolo's last news is fully contradicted, our army is said to be S[illegible] this side Muxadabad. We daily expect to hear something of consequence.

August 10th—Nothing remarkable to-day.

August 11th—The Nabob left Monghee, and the fort was left in charge of Mohamed Cawn; he treated us with the greatest lenity in appearance, and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest. I was allowed to see the gentlemen on account of Captain Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux.

August 12th—This morning I had a line from the officers, they have to be mostly belonging to the party that Mr Amyatt had with him, we sent them Rs [illegible]. Soon afterwards Messrs Leggett and Thompson were brought here to be confined along with us; they

Mr Amyatt and Fargo Cooper being killed at Muradabad, as follows —They had embarked all the party and a t the boats etc., with the street by land. Meeting w h contrary winds, it was ten days ere they reached Muradabad where at once th y saw t oops drawn p e ch side the ri er with some great gun They ha led them and desired them to come to, but, not taking ot a f them, some of them fired on which some of our sepoys began to fire at n. and killed some body o the shore, on h rh the gr t guns and soldiers we a fired whi h obliged them to put to the opposite shore here w a the lea t fire. Mr Amyatt not th tand g the fire landed th n pa e of pi t la He took the Nabob s persuasion and ha t and held t up to them, s d a p tol a the other a d advanced to the top of the bank, h e he was shot in the le end soon after cut to pieces. Fa go Cooper met the same fate in making resistance but the other gentlemen they could give no account of but expect they were sent to Mongheer with Mr Chambers and the others from Cossimbazar They also informed us that Mr Ray and Mr Gulston were left at Mongheer and remain a there yet. These gentlemen have suffered greatly being put in irons and brought up o one boat, and scarce victuals or necessaries to cover them being o ly 27 persons. The Nabob h s allows 10 rupees per day to the 17 people left and an addition of Rs. 5 per day on account of these two gentlemen.

Friday August 11th.—La t night late we had a confirmation f the action below but no particulars. It ed th t the N bob's wives, etc era gone from Mongheer in order to be a safety Numbers h re e e sending the families over the river Mundy Ali Khan set out to-day with 200 Mogals and some poys f Mongheer To-day t o padres, who had a few days ago gone from hence at Mon heer return d on account of the rebellion on the roads. They report the Nabob and all his troops are gone too from thence, and it is believed he goes to make his effort. They heard all the prisoners were embarked in the boats, but this is only hearsay

g s ns a particular account of Mr Amyatt, etc being cut off the Nabob came along w th a d behaved very politely he told us he w s to set out for Mongheer soon. We have th s day an account that Moncott has met w th a complete overthrow but we re some hat incredulous of e bot the news s f lly general

August 12th.—Last night our old friend was told that he must not sit so often with us; um afraid as shell lose his company he seems to gi e cred t to the former news; this e en g our Jemidar confirmed it, with the additional circumstances of Moncott being killed, and Samroo wounded also that the Nabob s came out from Mongheer and is imagined to go down and try his fate once more his wife and family are on their way here

August 25th—The former news still prevails, which gives us great reason to think that it is true, we shall soon be out of doubt. Our friend had a servant from Boglepoor, which confirms the former news.

August 26th—We have nothing new to day, but additional circumstances of the former battle. Our servant in bringing in six bottles of rum was stopped by the fellow at the gate, and was not allowed to bring it in, and informs us we can't have any more without a fresh order from our new Governor.

August 27th—No account of our army's advancing. We learn the Nabob has got to Boglepoor, and daily expect to hear something decisive. Our old friend has received a flying report that Ramnarain and Poybilah are both cut off, we hope it will prove without foundation.

August 28th—The news of the two former being cut off prevails with the additional circumstances that Messrs. Ellis and Lushington are also, like unto three Arcanians, which makes us apprehend that there is some truth in it, and that they have been found out in some correspondence.

ha ged th ser c a l ordered out of the prov nc lest they should save h m ae they did be ow

Fri d y Augu t 19th.—By a ervant arri ed from Hooghre Mr E'i s, ic a w ll and Ram na R bu'ish d h son w re put a a boat and n s let ev-l were d on ed. It i reported th t the N bob h e made proposals of peace and ffered th en crores af r peee to make good all dam a es, b t th e wante confirmation. H e Ea e lency for certe a has m rched f om Bnoglepore

Satur d y A g t 20th.—Hea d by a mes enger from H e P elle cy'e e m p that 500 Europea s, th ee battel one of sepoys our wn h rse had m hes f m lost ish d t ward flee boom to the pess e the h lls, wh le Meer J flee w th h army e d 3 400 E ropeons, and 5,000 black lat ly from C lcutta, w h 1 600 epoye rema ard feb ad. Heth e m ee ha e art llery la propost on. It le sa d the N 1 h has made a p esent of six months pay to a l his troops te n possession of the pe es, and reedy for a run, not caring to l a e lle zlepore.

S nday A g t 21st.—To d y Nobut Roy arri ed to see h e fam ly the Begum be ag at Jeff r Khan's s idea. It is said they p oceed up-country to a place in the h ls near Mo- [illegible]

M nd y August 22nd.—Nothing extraord nary only some Arme lane confined he e

Tu s d y, Augu t 23 d.—F r and clea eathe to d y which g ve us great joy e the ra e f r these four d ys past has occa on d e cha damp ae affects our hea th, Mr Campbell be ag sick.

Wednesday August 24th.—Nothing extraord nary

Thu sd y A g t 25th.—By ad vice from Monghee hear h s Excellency and the A me a general re g ently a pa ic. Lette e r e here t the Beg m twice a day often e order to quicken her marches.

Thursday 3 September 1 1.—To-day, heard some accounts of our g g a complete victory at Sooty Nulla, but not confirmed. Th e even ng all the Armenian women set out to the westward.

Friday September 2nd.—Nothing extraordinary

Saturday, Septemb 3rd.—Heard to-day by a messenger f om our camp at Sooty to a black merchant, that the arm ee remain there in the r old pos tion; that Major Adams had for certain gone the Beerboom road w th a view to pass the hills; that yesterday an accou t of it had been sent here for them to keep a look out, poo hich many prepared for goi g off The Seethe houses here w th h e (com tah's were se red and th ee lakha of rupees. A h t Roy w th the Begum has arrived at Dindigore He has se t word to Ram ar e f m ly th t he le not put to de th, but in a secure ple e n Mongheer and le tron with Raj bullab.

S nday, Sept mber 4th.—Nothing extraordinary

Mo day September 5th.—A report of our having possess d M n da.

T sday, September 6th.—Hear'd to-day of some chops being arrived at Calcutta with seapoys, and Europeans. Boo Ali Cawn le returned to Bauglepore, and M ndy Ally Cawn got command of the army below Coude Cawn le et pped in the hills and can't pass. Th ge are aid to be n the greatest conf sion at His Excellency's quarters. This by letter

Wednesday September 7th.—By a messenger from Munadabad in nine days, have the account of an action confirmed as follows: The enemy made an attack on one fascine battery at n ght. Our people quitted it and having let about 4,000 men land (for they crossed the nulla in boats), then immediately surrounded them and cut them off.

Thursday September 8th.—Nothing extraord nary.

Friday, September 9th.—Saw a ch t from Mr Ell e to his w ter, dated 3rd, wherein he tells h m he should want h m soon on his business at Patna,

Extract

Twelfth.—Mr. Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Monghee, Messrs. [illegible] and Gentree were in *Ashin* [illegible] Smith, Lieutenant Bowen, Ensign [illegible], and one gentleman, whom I don't remember, were on horseback, the rest were in [illegible] *Nyy*, and some in hackeries, and for their arrival at Patna, were confined in [illegible] Ahmed's house.

sfewed a h a a trong party com ag through tha h le, that all tha ps s are abandoned

Thursday September 15th—H s d that tha A me- s ne (ene al s elose) toner and a g and pu t ower h s effects here; also that the Jamaica courm nd g t Monghere had refused adm t tance to H s Exce l ncy and that our troops w l be at th s pla a as soon as h s.

Friday September 16th.—W e ha e not these n na days had any llowance from tha Naboh on account of the confusion her the consequence of th lata defeat of H s E ellency' troops. Heard by a peon of S W ll sro H ga that Captain Tutner d ed tha ght before he left Monghee. To-day we di lded what ca h rems ned in our possession which ama to 30 rupees s h, a d ha e sent th g eatest part f tha effects of oth ho were w th us to th Dutch factory This precaution we have taken lest we be ordered to march up-country w th H s E ellency

Saturday, September 17th—Received ad lces of our tmy for certa n be g t Shawbad, 3 c se shore the upper pass, that His Excelle cy is destroying Monghere and they e a he a destroying our factory house and fortify ag th s place

S nday September 18th—H s Excellency's people are gr off le troops. Mirza Cal el a d M ndy Ally C w are both arrived here, havi g fled from th late action. Our gentlemen are o their w y from Monghee to th s place and t is thought H s E ce lency intends push ag through the h lls to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, pr long t ma a d gs a some ass stance which he may be in expect tion of from abo e To-day sent my superfluous cloth s to th Dutch factory W a also received a ne days allowance out of eleven days l e to ou. Our peons here seem e great sg tation and, n hort, the whole city seems ready to t he w ag Hea His Excellency s 3 *cors* th s s ds of Mon hece and our troops 16 *cors* from there.

Tuesday, September 27th.—This morning hear that Lady Hope has arrived at the Dutch factory. A rumour prevails of His Excellency having been completely defeated a few days ago and lost every gun, etc., and that he is now on his way to Patna. The very peons are now excepted on this account.

Wednesday September 28th.—Heard from good authority that His Excellency is retreating, and was twenty days ago at Saidpore Somero, and the Armenians with a party at Monghee, and our army at Bagipore. Also a party had rescued the river and are coming down the other side. Hoo Ally Cawn with the Sikhs and several other persons were at Bar. Many prisoners have been released, amongst the rest Shah Mahomed was released from this place and put under the care of a friend of his in His Excellency's army and goes out here to-morrow morning.

Thursday September 29th.—Hears that His Excellency is *in* this side of Rajmalla and Somero with the Armenians at the Nulla, that his people are going off daily, and he is in great fear of his life. That about three weeks ago, he proposed cutting us all off, but was prevented by Somero, the Armenians and some of his Jamidars. The Moolah with a good force will be at Hedgepore in three days, that His Excellency is stopping off for the hills at Ramnagera within *[illegible]* of this place. It is believed that his orders would not be obeyed here, as most of the city seem willing to protect us. Gungan Cawn had 15 horses, which arrived here yesterday but the gates were shut and they were not permitted to enter. As things grow towards [illegible], our situation must create much anxiety. It is said he will be at Ramnagera the day after to-morrow so that our fate must be determined in two or three days at the farthest.

Saturday October 1st.—Mahomet Emy Cawn with the Seaths and some other prisoners at Bar remain without the east gate. 12 Europeans who came with him arrived in the city to-day.

Sunday October 2nd.—Heard that His Excellency would be at Bar to-day and our troops at

fidelity and breach of treaty but he said he still had hopes of an accommodation he asked me what I thought of it I told him I made no doubt of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr Amyatt's death, he declared that he had never given any orders for *killing Mr Amyatt, but after receiving the advice* of Mr Elliot having attacked Patna he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them; he likewise added that if a treaty was not set afoot he would bring the King the Marratoes, and Abdalla against us, and so ruin our trade, etc. He had finished his letters and ordered boats and a guard to conduct me, when upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me and said there was no occasion for me to go *After sending for me at first, he ordered the* sepoys, in whose charge I was, to go to their quarters; two Mogols and six harkarrahs to attend me, but let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied for to have liberty to stay at the Dutch Factory which was granted I applied to Meadaly Cawn for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen the Chasiatum who, where seven in number and was not killed till the 11th of October; but when he was petitioned about them, he gave no answer, but sent orders to Somro to cut them off. *I likewise applied to Ally* Ibrahim Cawn to intercede for them but he gave no answer either though I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

October 14th—On the approach of our army Cousin Ally decamped with his troops in great confusion and marched as far as Phulwari, five coss to the westward of the city The *harkarrahs* that were with me having no orders about me I gave them some money which made them pretty easy

October 15th—After giving money to a Jamadar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch Factory by the riverside, I set out in a small *pulwar* and got rope to the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, laying at Jully

[illegible]

Captain Turner	Died after [illegible] at Monghyr
[illegible]	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
Lutz	Killed in the Assault at Patna
[illegible]	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
Lieutenant Hope	Died [illegible]
" Marshall	Killed in the Assault at Patna
[illegible]	Ditto Ditto
Lette, Reach, Holland	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
[illegible]	Killed in the Battle near Chapra
Jones	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
Cooper	Killed at Mandahal
Gordon, Samuel, [illegible]	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
[illegible]	Killed in the Battle at Chapra
Pleasants, Sergt, Armstrong, [illegible], Greatrex, Ireland, Crawford, Bennett, [illegible]	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
Lieut. Lowther, Hamilton, " Parry, Bowen, " Reed	Killed in the Massacre at Patna; Killed in the Assault of Patna
Surgeon	
Mr Cross, " Anderson	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
Hare	Died at Monghyr
Private Merchants	
Mr Campbell, Harris, Johnstone, Place, " Follett, " West, " Hewitt, Allright, Hallins	Killed in the Massacre at Patna
" Andrews, " Barsters	Killed at Ringpore
Covenanted Servants	11
Military	19
Surgeons	1
Private Merchants	11
	62

Of which were killed in the massacre at Patna 51

APPENDIX I

time they get there, the rage of Cossim Ally might be assuaged, and that they might probably escape death. They were accordingly embarked on a Pattella boat, in charge of a jemadar and twelve burkendazes, and dropped down a small stream called the old, or little Cossy which falls into the Ganges a little below Berampore Gola and nearly opposite to Sickra City.

Here the serjeants had determined to have a chance for their lives. As soon as the boat had reached the Ganges, and hoisted sail for Patna (being the height of the rains, two of them went up on the chopper or roof, and saw the jemadar and three or four of his men asleep, with their faces covered. This they thought a favourable opportunity. They gently seized two of the swords which were near them, drew them from the scabbard and having at the same moment secured the matchlocks, one of them ran up to the manjee (helmsman) seized him by the arm and threw him overboard; they then gave a hurra, which was the signal for the two below who, in the meantime were not idle. The noise waked those upon deck who seeing the serjeants with drawn swords, fell upon their faces, and begged their lives, which were granted, provided no further resistance was made. The jemadar instantly called to his men below to surrender which they did so that the serjeants were in possession of the boat in less than ten minutes from their first going upon deck. The manjee having caught hold of the rudder entreated to be taken on board, and promised that he would conduct them down the river. His request was complied with, and the moment he was placed in his former situation, the sails were hauled down, the boat put about, and the crew taking the oars, the gallant fellows had the good fortune, by sunset to meet the British army under Major Adams, then advanced so Unoa Nullah.

As all these deserving men have long since paid the debt of nature, the writer entreats he may be excused giving a short account of them. Their names were Davis, Douglas, Speedy and another whose name he cannot now recollect. Davis was a smart young man, and a native of Edinburgh. He enlisted in the Company's service in the year 1761 and was posted to Captain Sommers's company one of those left at Patna, in which he was soon made a serjeant. After his escape from Purnea he was put into the grenadiers, with which he arrived the hole was being posted to the 1st Brigade that division of the army proceeded to Monghyr, where the year 1766, the general reduction took place. In this station of things Sir Robert Fletcher who commanded the brigade sent to Dacca and offered him a commission but he nobly refused it declaring that as the officers could not live upon their pay which was the case if they quitting the service it was impossible he could. He was however the next year appointed Quartermaster to the three battalion seat to the coast under Lieutenant Colonel William Smith, and on the return of that detachment the year 1770, procured ensign's commission and died captain in February 1788.

Douglas was a brave soldier and was long in the service of the Honorable Company in Bengal. On his joining the army at Udda Nulla, he was placed in the European Battalion, with which he served until the year 1766, when having been promoted sergeant major to one of the Purgunnah battalions, then formed for the Revenue duty at Moradabad.

Here he remained until the beginning of the year 1773, when the Sanassies becoming very troublesome in the district of Rungpore Captain Timothy Edwards, who then commanded the battalion, was ordered out with five companies, to clear the province of those marauders. Having received his instructions from the Chief of Rungpore he marched in quest of them and the morning after having crossed one of those small rivers with which the northern districts abound, he descried the Sanassies about two miles in front of him. He immediately formed his detachment into a column by subdivisions from the right, and marched on towards the enemy who, as soon as he came near enough saluted him with a few rockets. When Captain Edwards thought himself within a proper distance for engaging he rode to the head of the column, and beat to arms, intending that the divisions should double upon the left of the leading division as they came up but the men mistaking the orders, wheeled to the left, and formed a battalion which laid their right flank open to the enemy. Seeing the error they had fallen into he galloped to the left in order to draw them into line fronting the Sanassies, whilst Douglas exerted himself on the right for the same purpose but it was too late for the enemy, perceiving the confusion, rushed in upon them with the swords and pears and having dispatched a few put the rest to flight.

Douglas was one of the first that fell but the fate of Captain Edwards was not known until that was found in the Nullah before-mentioned but the body has never been discovered.

The Naib Commandant and Adjutant were tried for their reconduct in that unfortunate action and were executed at the mouth of a cannon but the gallant behaviour of one of the jemadars deserves much praise for having rallied sixteen men he made his retreat good although attacked on every side by the Sanassies in which he was promoted to the rank of Subadar.

This was the third detachment which had been cut off by those ferocious predatory commanded by a Captain Thomas, the other by Lieutenant Keith who both lost their lives upon the occasion. As these parties were all from the Purgunnah battalions, it occasioned the dissolution of that establishment.

Serjeant Speedy from whom the writer had the account of Capt. Carstairs detachment, was a steady soldier and a man of long service in the field. He was a native of Ireland and in the beginning of what is called the Spanish or 3 years war enlisted in the 3rd regiment of foot then commanded by Colonel Huske. He accompanied his regiment to Flanders in the year 1742, and remained with it the whole war, was present at the battles of Dettingen Fontenay and Lafaldt in the latter of which he lost two fingers of his left hand. The following year being 1748 he received his discharge and immediately after enlisted in the Honourable East India Company's service. He arrived at Madras 1749, and being posted to the grenadier company was ordered to take the field under Major Lawrence where he served the whole of the war against the French in which many gallant actions were performed by the company to which belonged to. In 1756 his Company composed part of the detachment sent round to Bengal, under Major Kilpatrick. And here the writer begs leave to observe that the Company above mentioned was the foundation of the grenadier company of the only European regiment belonging to our Honorable employers now in Bengal, and it affords him the

It is therefore agreed and ordered that a general deep mourning shall be observed in the settlement for the space of fourteen days to commence next Wednesday the 2nd of November

That the morning of that day shall be set apart and observed as a public fast and humiliation, and that intimation be accordingly given to the chaplains to be prepared with a sermon and forms of prayer suitable to the occasion.

That the evening before immediately after firing the Sunset gun, Minute guns shall be fired from the ships and the Fort which Commodore Tinker having been so obliging as to join on the marks of our concern will begin from His Majesty's ship *Liverpool* to be taken up first from the old, and next from the new Fort, and then to be succeeded by the *Osterley* and *Bosc en* the Company's ships, which lay at anchor off town, and as Captain Tinker also mentions that he will send orders to the same effect to His Majesty's ships *Medway* and *Yarmouth* at Kedgeree, that the Company's ships *Dolphin*, *Lord Clive* and *Pigot* which are laying at Culpee be directed to follow their example.

The better to answer the end proposed by adding to the solemnity of the ceremony, it is strictly ordered that the old Fort do not begin firing till the *Liverpool* has ceased firing the new Fort to take up the fire from the old Fort the same manner and so the ships according to the order they are here mentioned in.

After paying this necessary duty to the memory of our countrymen, we are fully agreed and determined to use all the means in our power for taking an ample revenge on the persons who may have been concerned in this horrid execution and with a view of deterring in future all ranks and degrees of people from ordering or executing such acts of barbarity.

Resolved therefore that a Manifesto of the action be published throughout all the country with a proclamation promising an immediate reward of a Lack of Rupees to any person or persons who shall seize and deliver up to us Cassim Ally Khan, and that he or they shall further receive such other marks of favour and encouragement as may be in our power to shew in return for this act of public justice.

That an immediate reward of Rs 40,000 shall be given to any person or persons who shall apprehend the Chief named Summereau and bring him a prisoner to us.

APPENDIX III

Page 1 *The Factory*.—Mr Beveridge supposes this to be the present Opium Factory but in 1767 we read that the English Factory was entirely consumed in the great fire. See Long *Selections* p. 379. It was on the river's edge to the west of the city walls. The hospital was inside the city

Vutul Bastion.—Mr Beveridge notes This as one of the earthen mounds round Patna and situated to the east of the Opium Factory. It was demolished at the time of the Mutiny For the story of these mounds see *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXXII p. 205.

Vartan.— An Armenian General of Gurgin-khan's recommended on. *See Mutaqherin*, Vol. II., p. 451 The Armenians at this time seem to have martial inclination and abilities. Gregore, another Armenian, was an important General of Mir Kasim's.

Page 2. *La ge house the Chahal Chahal-tun*.—Here Aurangzeb's grandson, had resided. In an article on the City of Patna, Mr Beveridge writes The Chahal Satun, or forty-pillared residence of the Viceroys, stood just behind the mosque of the Madrasa. No trace of it now remains, and the site is occupied by some jungle. Even in Buchanan's time it had quite disappeared, though fifty years before it had been the residence of Prince Ali Ghous, who was afterwards the Emperor Shah Allum. It was the failure of Carnac to capture the citadel and the Chahalsatun that led to the disaster. See *Seirl Mutaqherin*, Vol. II., p. 473.

Phulgi Pass.—Identified by Mr Beveridge with Phalsa Ghat, near Orega.

Page 5. *Singla River*.—Singla was the site of the English Factory in Charnock's Patna period.

Meer Abdula.—A descendent of the Sufi Kings of Persia. He was a friend of the English and was suspected by Mir Kasim. He had his house in Nouzerkattra close to the city wall. His father was Mir Gholam Ali. Nawab Wilayat Ali married a descendant of his. (Beveridge.)

Mirza Cullil (*Mirza Khalil*)—A merchant resident in Marufganj.

Page 6. (16th July) *Our army leaving at Cutwa*.—Cutwa, a fortress, taken by Clive on his way to Plassey in 1757 As a matter of fact Cutwa was taken by Lieutenant Cleon on 17th July See Broome, p. 372. An heavy engagement between Adams forces and those under Taqui Khan took place on 19th July then English after their success resting at Plassey

Page 10 (11th August) *Action before*.—Adams victory at Gheria on 2nd August.

(24th September. *Nagarra*—A small ceremonial drum

Page 13. (27th September) Lady Hope, the wife of Sir William Hope, Bart., who perished in the massacre afterwards married Wm. Lambert. See *Dragal Past and Present*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 509

The Dutch Factory.—(27th September Mr O Malley writes The opium factory is said to occupy the site and contain some of the buildings of the old Dutch factory. A large two storied building which is now used as a godown is pointed out as having been erected by the Dutch, and part of the revetment or river wall of the city is known as the Ollandas Pushta, *i.e.*, the Dutch revetment. *Bengal District Gazetteer Patna* p. 413. The Factory was seized by the English in 1781 restored to the Dutch in 1784, and finally ceded to the English by the treaty of 1784.

Page 14. (4th October) *Abdulla again at*.—Ahmad Shah Abdali, the sovereign of the Afghans.